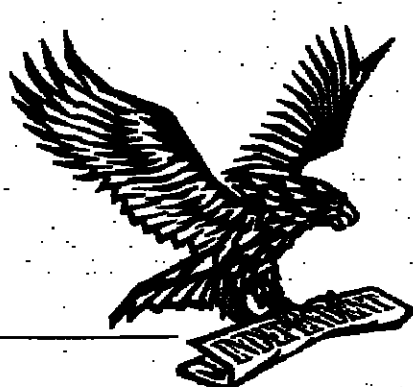


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When a babe has
a baby of her own

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Disaster! Coming to
a cinema near you

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THE INDEPENDENT

THURSDAY 4 JULY 1996 40p (inc VAT)

Yeltsin: The sick man of Europe

**TONY BARBER, PHIL REEVES
and HELEN WOMACK**
Moscow

He was fighting two battles yesterday. First, he was seeking to defeat his Communist rival, Gennady Zyuganov. At the same time, and perhaps even more importantly, President Boris Yeltsin was seeking to convince Russians and the outside world that he is robust enough to govern his vast realm into the 21st century.

As the last polling stations closed in European Russia, 24 hours after they opened in Kamchatka in the Far East, the tentative signs were that he was winning on one of the two fronts: first exit polls gave Mr Yeltsin a lead over Mr Zyuganov of 55 to 40 per cent.

Less promising was the mounting evidence that the 65-year-old President and conqueror of Communism may be too sick to survive a full four-year second term in office.

The implications of this could be cataclysmic. Mr Yeltsin's illness, clearly more serious than the Kremlin's official account of a cold or sore throat, forced him to cast his ballot yesterday morning in the village of Barvikha outside Moscow, the same place where he convalesced after his two heart attacks last year. It was evidently a last-minute decision by his doctors to keep him under wraps. The President's staff had earlier escorted four busloads of television crews and reporters to Mr Yeltsin's usual voting station, Oseany Bulvar, in western Moscow.

After waiting for two hours for the President to arrive, the assembled media were finally informed by his trusty Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, that Mr Yeltsin had already cast his vote at 10am in Barvikha. "Why not - it's easier there, it's nearer there," Mr Chernomyrdin said. "He's all right. He has his finger on the pulse."

If Mr Yeltsin dies, the reins of power would pass over in the first instance to Mr Chernomyrdin, who has gained a reputation as a safe pair of hands. He would call fresh elections, within three months. Alexander Lebed, the retired army general whom Mr Yeltsin appointed two weeks ago to take charge of Russian national security, would be likely to stand for president. Few in the West would see much reason to rejoice.

Mr Yeltsin has been ill and disappeared from public view several times in the past, most notably in December 1994 when the Russian armed forces stormed into Chechnya and the President was said to be recovering from a "nose operation". But at 65, he has already lived longer than the average Russian male, and he inflicted a punishing schedule on himself when campaigning across Russia's 11 time zones before the election's first round.

With Mr Yeltsin's history of heart trouble, it seems logical to assume that his week-long absence from public view stems from the same problem. But the US television network CNN, whose broadcasts are closely followed by Russia's political classes, appeared to jump to the wrong conclusion when reporting, while the polls were still open, that Mr Yeltsin was suffering from angina.

A presidential adviser, Sergei Karaganov, pointed out that the Russian word "angina", which had been used to define the President's illness, means "sore throat" or "tonsillitis". That said, a sore throat appeared to be the last of Mr Yeltsin's worries as he spoke clearly, if woodenly, in a one-minute address filmed by Kremlin cameras at Barvikha.

"All of you, absolutely all of you, come along, don't forget your duty," the President said, exhorting citizens to vote. Explaining his failure to cast his ballot in Moscow, he joked: "I have already fulfilled the plan for talking to the press by 120 per cent." Whilst millions of provincial voters appeared unconcerned by the President's fragile health, to those in the know in Moscow and St Petersburg it was a more disturbing business. That is principally because of the rise to prominence of Mr Lebed.

He has made it clear he sees himself as Mr Yeltsin's natural successor and has shocked reformist opinion with a series of bellicose threats to shake up Russian society. If Mr Yeltsin, back in office, were to become seriously incapacitated, Mr Lebed would almost certainly make a bid for supreme power.

Mr Zyuganov, whose attempts to raise the health issue in the campaign's last week were largely suppressed by the pro-Yeltsin Russian media, made one last effort to capitalise on the President's illness yesterday. "Apparently his state of health is not very good. He has not seen any of his closest aides in the last few days," the 52-year-old Communist leader said, before voting in Moscow.

But last night those around the President had more immediate worries on their minds - specifically, the turn-out. Polls closed in 14 regions to reveal an estimated turn-out of around 62 per cent, a figure that was lower than Mr Yeltsin's campaign team could feel comfortable with, but above the dangerous 60-per-cent threshold at which he would stand a significant chance of defeat.

Further reports pages 12, 13

Edward I stole it from the Scots; four nationalist students stole it back; 700 years on the Stone of Scone is going home

Major tries royal magic to appease the Scots

The Scots asked for a parliament, and John Major gave them a Stone. The Prime Minister announced yesterday to a staggered House of Commons that, after 700 years, the Stone of Scone is to be taken out of the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey and returned to Scotland.

It belongs, in legal theory, and no doubt in her opinion, to the Queen. But Mr Major stated that she had agreed to her transfer "on the advice of Her Majesty's ministers". The Stone, on which Kings of Scotland were crowned until Edward I of England seized and removed it in 1296, may be placed in Edinburgh Castle later this year.

Politics is often symbolic. But nothing in this British century is stranger, or more touching in its faith in magic, than John Major's attempt to propitiate the Scots by returning the Liath Fàil, or Stone of Destiny, after 700 years of exile.

And nothing more plainly reveals the superstition which still underlies this monarchy than the plaintive half-protest issued yesterday by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey. To them, the "symbolic" and emotional significance of the Stone, its "intimate association with the Sacrament of Coronation" and its "religious associations" raise an agony of anxiety in "those who are advising the Queen in this matter". The working of a mighty spell seems to be endangered, and a reaction as unpolitical - and indeed non-Christian - as the old myth that the monarchy will fall when the ravens of the Tower of London perish.

Edward I was much more rational when he took the Stone, together with archives and holy relics, in 1296. Like a Victorian conqueror in West Africa, calculating that removing the sacred stool of a king would demoralise his subjects and open them to accepting foreign rule, he thought that this would break Scottish morale. It had seemed to work when the Crown of King Arthur and a fragment of the True Cross were seized from Wales in 1284.

By Neal Aspin

But this time Edward was wrong. The Wars of Independence followed, culminating in the crushing Scottish victory at Bannockburn in 1314. Edward's grandson, acknowledging the mistake and, at the Treaty of Northampton in 1328, agreed to give the Stone back. But the London mob rioted in protest, and the Stone remained in Westminster Abbey.

There it stayed, a mysterious great slab which was once thought to be basalt but now seems to be a sort of limestone, until a group of young Scottish patriots, led by John Hamilton, broke into the Abbey and took it back to Scotland at the New Year of 1950. When the tidings came on the BBC, a vivid flash of excitement ran all over Scotland - one of those instances where everyone remembers where they were when they heard the news.

More than a year later, after negotiations which are still obscure, the Stone was laid in the ruined Abbey of Arbroath for the seekers to find, and returned to Westminster. Nobody was prosecuted. Some believe that only a fake Stone was returned, and that the real one still lies somewhere hidden in Northern darkness. But Michael Forsyth, the Secretary of State of Scotland, promised yesterday that X-ray tests, to be published shortly, will show that the slab on which the young Queen Elizabeth sat to be crowned two years later was, and remains, the real thing.

Talk about the return of cultural heritage is beside the point. It is all too clear that this lump of rock is anything but dead heritage. The Stone is alive, and, in England, even more than in Scotland, it radiates an awesome charge of power and legitimacy. The origins of the Stone are unknown. The medieval Scots invented fancies that it was the stone which had been Jacob's pillow when he dreamed of the ladder to heaven and saw angels ascending and descending.



Edward I (in the film *Braveheart*) who took the stone in 1296 to break the Scots' morale, but just provoked them further. Photograph: Andrew Cooper / Ronald Grant Archive

brought to Scotland by the mythical Prince Gathelus from Egypt. It seems to have been taken to Scone, near Perth, by King Kenneth MacAlpine in the 9th century. Stones sometimes played a part in the Dark Age ceremonies for inaugurating kings, together with bardic recitations of ancestry.

Slightly less primitive is the provision that the Stone must be trundled back to Westminster for future Coronations. That is not just superstitious fear that the ritual may not be effective without it, although that is a possibility now. It also channels a political thought. If the Stone is to be crowned until the 13th century were to remain north of the Border, there would be strong pressure for a separate Scottish Coronation of all future British monarchs.

The Highlands fell into this trap. The Emperors of Austria-Hungary also became, by marriage and conquest, kings of Bohemia and Hungary, and there were coronation ceremonies in Prague and Budapest as well as Vienna. The effect of this was to preserve the sense of injured pride in those two kingdoms, later to develop into full-blown nationalism.

Will the return of the Stone, an idea put to Mr Major earlier this year by the ingenious Mr Forsyth, appease the Scottish

hunger for self-government? It is likely to have the opposite effect. If, as it might, have been taken to Scone, near Perth, by King Kenneth MacAlpine in the 9th century. Stones sometimes played a part in the Dark Age ceremonies for inaugurating kings, together with bardic recitations of ancestry.

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The men who took the stone (right) in 1950. A year later it was 'found' in Arbroath



Finders keepers in a world game of marbles

REBECCA FOWLER

It is the world's biggest game of marbles. For centuries nation have plundered each other's most beloved artefacts, including the Stone of Destiny, only to claim "finders keepers" when asked to return them.

The list of lost goods covers the spectrum of history, from a manuscript containing the oldest sentences written in Welsh to an Aztec feathered headdress, jewels once thought to belong to Helen of Troy, and a collection of Norse chess pieces.

Among the greatest hoarders of all is the British Museum. The most disputed artefacts to be plucked in Bloomsbury are the Elgin Marbles, which once adorned the Parthenon in Athens. Lord Elgin bought them from a Turkish overlord in 1801, and sold them to the museum in 1816 for £35,000.

Glenys Kinnock, the Labour MEP, has joined calls for the marbles to be returned, and in return hopes to see Welsh artefacts brought back to her homeland from England. The Gospel of St Tello, a religious manuscript, has been in English hands for 1,000 years.

For the most part the artefacts are priceless. The world's most valuable chess set, dug up on the Isle of Lewis in 1801, recently became the subject of a custody battle between the islanders and the British Museum. Both kings are insured for £1m each.

But it is not just the British who are expert at laying their hands on other people's cultures. The Greeks are equally anxious to reclaim the *Venus de Milo* from the French, who have given the mutilated statue pride of place at the Louvre for 170 years, while Moscow is brimming with as many foreign treasures as Bloomsbury.

As well as some of the finest impressionist paintings in the world, seized as trophy art from the Germans at the end of the Second World War, the Russians have Priam's Treasure. The hoard of 100 Turkish objects was found by Heinrich Schliemann in 1873 and taken from Berlin by Soviet soldiers in 1945.

At first, Schliemann believed they were the personal jewels of Helen of Troy, and adorned his young Greek wife with the most beautiful. But they are now recognised to be much older than the Homeric era.

One of the most unusual artefacts to be disputed is the *Quetzalcoatl*, the head-dress of the Aztec emperor Montezuma, which has been in Vienna for 100 years. It is made from 450 feathers of the quetzal and extinct cotinga bird.

Mexican Indians danced outside the presidential palace last year to encourage official action. The Austrians maintain the plumage "would rot in the tropics" and claim it never belonged to the emperor anyway.

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MPs vote for rise
The House of Commons will next week spurn a Government call for pay restraint with a free vote which will bring a 26 per cent pay rise for MPs.

Backbench MPs will endorse a recommendation from the Senior Salaries Review Body that they receive a rise of more than £170 a week, moving them up from £34,085 to £43,000.

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Woman to run ROH
A woman looks certain to take over the running of the Royal Opera House, in London, for the first time. Four high-profile women in the arts are being considered by the ROH board to take over as general director when Sir Jeremy Isaacs retires next year. It is understood that the nature of the post is likely to change.

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news

BA strike spells chaotic summer

BARRIE CLEMENT
Labour Editor

Hundreds of thousands of holiday-makers and business travellers face a summer of chaos after British Airways pilots voted overwhelmingly to strike in protest at a pay and productivity offer.

The British Airline Pilots' Association is expected to opt for a highly damaging indefinite strike from 16 July following a 90 per cent vote for action. This would be the first major all-out strike since the industrial action by miners in 1984-85.

Both sides last night regis-

tered their readiness to enter negotiations.

BA said that it had drawn up "contingency" plans to operate as many flights as possible with the help of an estimated 20 per cent of flight crews who are not members of Balpa.

The strike vote came as London endured another 24-hour stoppage by tube drivers which closed two-thirds of the system. London Underground claimed that some members of Aslef, the train drivers' union, worked during the action. There were no signs that talks were imminent in an attempt to solve the dispute over working hours.

Further walkouts are planned for next Monday and 16 July, when the BA action could start.

Threats of industrial action also emerged in the "overground" rail network as the RMT transport union called ballots for strikes among its 9,000 members.

The union is disputing productivity payments on the East Coast Mainline, Cross Country, Great Western, South Central, South Eastern Trains and Mersey Rail Electrics.

Negotiations over rest periods have broken down at Central Trains, Regional Railways, North London Railways, Scot-

Rail, South Wales and West and Thames Trains.

At the Royal Mail, the postal executive at the Communication Workers Union is to decide today whether to press ahead with more 24-hour strikes.

The dispute at BA, however, is potentially the most serious because of the likely decision to call an all-out stoppage.

The airline has offered its 3,600 flight deck employees a 3.6 per cent pay increase this year and a rise of 0.5 per cent above inflation next year.

Lower-paid crews who operate out of Gatwick have been offered an additional 10 per

cent, but the union is expected to reject the offer.

Management and union also clashed over the present pay of flight crew. Balpa put the average figure at £50,000 a year, but the company said it was nearer £75,000, with senior pilots earning more than £100,000.

Chris Darke, general secretary of Balpa, said the pilots were simply seeking the same deal as other BA employees. He pointed out that the 94 per cent turnout among the 3,000 Balpa members was among the highest ever recorded under the present legislation. Out of 2,980

ballot papers returned, 2,687 voted for a strike, with just 292 against.

Robert Ayling, chief executive of the airline, said action would not be in the interests of the union, its members, the customers or the country.

"It seems to us regrettable that a responsible union should use a threat to damage the interests of the company in order to pursue objectives which are not reasonable."

He said that some 60 per cent of BA passengers travelled for non-business purposes, and a stoppage would "seriously inconvenience a lot of people".

Man to sue BR over his sister's death

CHRISTIAN WOLMAR
Transport Correspondent

A man is considering suing British Rail after his 86-year-old sister collapsed and later died after an incident at a station in which he claims she was not given sufficient time to get off the train. Her brother is particularly upset because he says he had implored platform staff to stop the train from leaving to allow her time to get off.

David Kelly, 77, feels that his sister's death three weeks later was the result of trauma caused by her not having enough time to get off the train at Oxenholme in the Lake District.

Margaret Fraser travelled up to visit her brother on 30 May from Reading on an InterCity train, a journey she had undertaken many times before.

Although she was mobile, she was helped onto the train by rail staff and was supposed to have been given support in getting off at Oxenholme.

However, when she got to her destination there was no one to help her. Her brother looked up and down the platform but could not see her and approached the two platform staff.

He started talking to the station workers, saw his sister struggling with a train door and asked them to help get her off.

Mr Kelly said afterwards: "As I showed them where she was, they just ignored me and the smaller of the two blew his whistle very loudly and the train moved off."

Mrs Fraser had to go to Penrith, the next stop, and then return on another train. By this time, she was taken ill and had to be brought by wheelchair from one platform to another, and then back to Oxenholme. Three others who had also failed to get off the train at Oxenholme because of the door not opening came back with her.

Mr Kelly says that Margaret was already poorly. "She was very shaky when she got back and I realise now that she was already dying."

A few days later, she was in intensive care in hospital and she died on June 22. Doctors say she had suffered a heart attack. When Mr Kelly wrote to InterCity West Coast, which is responsible for the station, Mike Kilgour, station services manager at Carlisle, replied that the signal had already been given to depart by the time Mr Kelly spoke to the staff.

There is intense pressure on rail staff to ensure that trains depart on time because train operating companies can be fined by Railtrack for any delays.



River of dreams: Members of Kingston rowing club discussing their sport at yesterday's opening of the Royal Regatta, Henley. Photograph: David Rose

Power group hopes for windfall tax reprieve

CHRIS BLACKHURST
Westminster Correspondent

National Grid, the electricity supply group, is hopeful that after talks with Labour politicians, it will be among those excluded from the party's windfall tax aimed at hitting the profits of the privatised utilities.

Peter Gavin, National Grid's corporate affairs director, said yesterday, they had put a "powerful case" to Labour to be exempt from the tax.

He was speaking the day after The Independent revealed that Labour was having to revise its windfall tax plans after talks between senior figures in the party and several major utility companies, including British Gas.

The report provoked a furious political row with the Government saying it proved what they always thought, that the tax, intended to raise £3bn, would not work.

Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said: "We looked at the tax when it appeared in one of the newspapers and we rapidly discov-

ered that it was a fraud and it wouldn't raise the money or if it did it would cause great injustice and create damage to consumers."

Mr Clarke added: "It won't raise £3 billion unless you're going to do tremendous damage. It was sold as a painless tax - a way of taxing the companies that provide our gas, our electricity, our water and our telecommunications." The Chancellor continued: "The implication was nobody was going to pay except some fat cats mysteriously in the background."

National Grid said it had been forced to fund a £20 rebate for every electricity consumer at its flotation last December. "We're highly geared as a result, and we don't warrant any windfall tax," said Mr Gavin. A spokesman for Gordon Brown, the Shadow Chancellor, said his boss had never met anyone from British Gas to talk about the windfall tax. However, the Independent never made such an allegation. Richard Giddens, the British Gas chairman, the Independent understands, has met a senior member of Mr

Brown's team where the windfall tax and its impact on the company was raised.

In the manifesto document published today, said Mr Brown's spokesman, the party "will reaffirm the commitment for a windfall levy on the privatised utilities."

The document will say: "to pay for these proposals we will have a one-off windfall levy on the excess profits of the privatised utilities which will pay for our carefully costed deal for young people and unemployed."

Labour accused lobbying firms of whipping up a case that their clients should be excluded from the tax. "The privatised utilities have made £50bn profit in the last ten years," said Mr Brown. "They are now spending hundreds of thousands of pounds on lobbyists in a vain attempt to change Labour's mind."

The Shadow Chancellor said he had now instructed his colleagues "to tell these lobby firms that they are wasting their time and the privatised utilities are wasting their money."

Homesick life of army recruits

CHRISTOPHER BELLAMY
Defence Correspondent

Half of the Army's recruits now come from broken homes, it was revealed yesterday, the first time a detailed portrait of Army recruits has ever been released.

Most recruits live with their mothers, only 54 per cent of whom are still married. The worst problem recruits encounter when they join the Army is homesickness. They miss their mothers most of all - girlfriends and boyfriends come second, followed closely by pets.

Some 59 per cent smoke, an average of 13 cigarettes a day. The 34 per cent drink go through an average of 11 pints a week. And although they are more interested in sport than others of their age group, they are not fit enough.

The Army announced yesterday that it was extending its basic recruit training to cope with soldiers whose lifestyle has given them the "worst possible start to Army life". Last year the Army hoped to recruit

15,000 young people, but managed only 11,000. The pool from which recruits into the ranks are drawn has been getting smaller, and is increasingly focused on a narrow band of youngsters from relatively deprived backgrounds - which may help explain the sluggish behaviour of some soldiers, in spite of military discipline.

Many of the young people who might have joined the army and risen swiftly to become sergeants and warrant officers now go to university instead.

Half of those who join have a friend in the Army and 12 per cent a brother. But generally "peer group pressure" discourages people from joining.

Lieutenant Colonel Richard Quicke, the commander of the Winchester training regiment, outlined the problems. "The trainer wears, the couch potato, the lack of competitive sports, the lack of any sports, poor diet, an environment where commitment and loyalty to the workplace is becoming less and less fashionable."

SIGNIFICANT SHORTS

British doctors have identified a new burn syndrome caused by lightning, following one of the largest multiple strikes anywhere in the world, which occurred in Kent. At least 12 and 20 people are injured by lightning in Britain each year, but 17 were hit by a single lightning bolt as they sheltered under trees at a football match in September 1995.

Doctors at St Andrew's Hospital, Bitterley, found that 10 had a distinctive pattern of burns on the soles of their feet and the tips of their toes. Christened the "Tip-Toe" syndrome, Mr Hammy Said Fahmy, formerly a registrar in plastic surgery at St Andrews, said the burn patterns suggest that a lightning bolt affects small peripheral nerves and blood vessels. The patients showed a remarkable range of injuries. Lightning strikes have the potential for multi-system injuries, the extent of which had not previously been recognised. But all 17 victims had recovered and the long-term risks to their health were minimal, he added. *Dr Hammy*

Water quality improved last year, the Government's Drinking Water Inspectorate reported yesterday. Only one in 200 of the 3.2 million tests carried out by the 31 water companies in 1995 failed to comply with national and EU standards. Overall, higher than acceptable levels of iron, lead and pesticides were the most common reason for infringements.

Yorkshire Water, under fire for its performance in last year's drought, has the greatest number of enforcement actions pending against it. Seven incidents involving contraventions of quality standards and failure to meet sampling requirements are cited by the Inspectorate, which only brings enforcement actions when a water supplier "is contravening [standards] and is likely to contravene again". *Karen Bakker*

Manchester is to receive a £21m aid package to begin the restoration of its bomb-damaged city centre, the Deputy Prime Minister, Michael Heseltine, said yesterday. It will include £20m to be injected after a reallocation of European funds and £1m to help prepare a master plan for the redevelopment.

Mr Heseltine announced the creation of a city centre task force, under the chairmanship of industrialist Sir Alan Cockshaw, to oversee the project, following the massive bombing more than two weeks ago, which was estimated to have caused damage of £500m. He said owners of the most badly bomb-damaged buildings, including Marks & Spencer and P&O, operators of the giant Arndale Centre, had been involved in negotiations.

Sir James Goldsmith, the billionaire financier of the Referendum Party, yesterday incited Tory Euro-sceptics to rebel before the general election. He warned that actions not words would be required for his Referendum Party to withdraw its threat to stand against them in the next election, and which could cost some their seats.

"I was asked today what criteria would be used by us as to whether we field candidates. We have to look at the facts, what people have done as opposed to what they say. We will want more than just commitments but acts," Sir James told a Westminster press gallery luncheon. His remarks will infuriate John Major, who has been told that the Euro-sceptics have privately agreed to a ceasefire until after the election. *Colin Brown*

A British challenge to the armed forces' ban on gays and lesbians got the go-ahead in the High Court yesterday. *Cheney v. The Director of the Royal Naval School of Maritime Studies*, a 27-year-old homosexual, is seeking judicial review. Mr Justice Sedley said: "It is arguable that sexual orientation discrimination is caught by the [EU] Equal Treatment Directive." Mr Perkins was a Royal Navy leading medical assistant with exemplary service until his discharge in October 1995 following a tip-off about his sexuality to the Military Police. His case follows the landmark European Court of Justice ruling in a case concerning a transsexual, P, where the court held that the Equal Treatment Directive, which outlawed sexual discrimination, should be given a broad interpretation. *Patricia Wynn Davies*

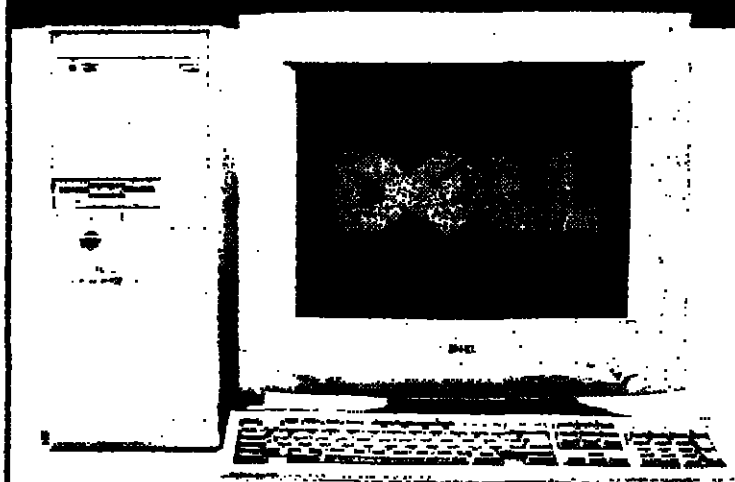
British Rail pensioners are £5.5m richer after 20 Old Masters belonging to their pension fund sold well above the £4.7m estimate at Sotheby's in London. The top lot was a brilliant scene by Goya, which made £2.5m. *Death of a Pioneer* was part of a series painted by the artist to pay his medical bills after a near fatal illness. It dated from 1793. The painting, executed in oil on plate, was expected to fetch between £1m and £1.5m.

Other works in the British Rail Pension Fund collection included a panoramic landscape by Dutchman Philip Koninck, painted around 1650, which sold to the London dealer Robert Noortman for £925,000. Koninck, who trained in Rembrandt's circle, has long been regarded as an important figure in the development of Dutch landscape painting. *David Lister (Arts News, page 9)*

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German mogul scoops the World Cup

MATHEW HORSMAN
Media Editor

A reclusive German billionaire, barely known outside his own country, yesterday scooped up the non-US television rights to the World Cup in 2002 and 2006 for a record \$2.2bn, boosting football's leading event to Olympic status and breaking a 25-year hold on the rights by European public-service broadcasters.

The bid by the Bavarian media baron Leo Kirch, one of the world's leading holders of movie and television rights, was "absolutely mind-boggling," an

insider at Fifa, football's world governing body, said last night, adding that it marks the first time that a rights "broker", rather than broadcasters themselves, has won the lucrative contract.

The scramble to secure rights country by country will now start, with both the BBC and ITV obliged to deal with Mr Kirch for the rights in the UK. Mr Kirch, heavily built and nearly blind from diabetes, beat bids by the European Broadcasting Union, which includes the BBC, and IMG, the sport agency owned by Mark McCormack. The loss by the EBU

was a further blow to the fortunes of public-service broadcasters, who have been forced increasingly to compete for rights with private companies.

But Fifa's general secretary, Sepp Blatter, said yesterday that Fifa would ensure "ordinary viewers" will be able to see the games, and had retained a veto over any subsequent deals on rights in different countries. "This is our responsibility to make sure that they see it, it is our duty," he said.

Fifa will be guaranteed at least \$1bn for the 2002 event, to be co-hosted by Japan and South Korea. Any additional

profits will be shared equally between Fifa and Mr Kirch and his partner, the marketing company ISL. That dwarfs the \$183.5m in TV rights paid for the 1998 World Cup in France, and confirms football's status as an event nearly equal to the Olympic Games.

The explosion in the value of television sport rights has been sparked by the growing market for pay television, and the promise of saturation coverage once 500 digital television channels are launched in Europe, probably within two years. It is through the pay-TV market that Mr Kirch hopes to make his

money, offering wall-to-wall coverage of the matches, on a pay-per-view basis, in addition to selling the live rights to terrestrial broadcasters.

Mr Kirch, 68, is one of Germany's most successful and secretive media giants. He owns 25 per cent of Premiere, the country's only pay-TV channel, 10 per cent of Mediaset, the company belonging to the Italian magnate and politician Silvio Berlusconi, and 37 per cent of Axel Springer Verlag, publishers of *Die Welt* and *Bild*, Germany's biggest-selling daily tabloid with a circulation of around 5 million. His 40 com-

panies worldwide have assets of 7 billion deutschmarks.

He is a devout Catholic, and a close confidant of the German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, but also owns Sat 1 TV network, which broadcasts soft porn.

The son of a wine grower, he made his fortune buying and selling rights to movies and television. His connections to Italy extend back to the 1950s, when he bought the rights to Fellini's *La Strada*. He now controls the rights to 15,000 movies and 50,000 hours of television, which he intends as fodder for a new digital pay-TV network to be launched this summer.



Leo Kirch: Bid \$2.2bn for TV rights Photograph: Rex Features

Test finds dyslexics are born, not made

CHARLES ARTHUR
Science Editor

New research has revealed that dyslexia is definitely due to differences in brain function which exist before birth.

The findings, by a British researcher, show that the disorder is linked to a subtle inability to process visual information about moving objects.

Scientists researching dyslexia, which affects an estimated two million people in the UK, now think it may be caused by a general inability to process fast-changing data from any of the senses.

The difference discovered in the latest work is so small that it makes no difference in other everyday activities. But the method used to find it could allow dyslexia to be diagnosed without reading tests, using Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI), which can look at activity within the brain.

In a three-year study, Guinevere Eden, of the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, used MRI to study the activity of a particular part of the brain's visual processing system, called V5/MT.

The MRI system spots changes in the flow of blood in the brain, so it highlights any area that is particularly active.

Six dyslexics and eight people with normal reading abilities were compared as they watched fast-moving dots on a screen. In the normal subjects, V5/MT showed heightened activity; in the dyslexics, it did not. When the same people were shown stationary dots, the differences disappeared. The results are published in the science journal *Nature* today.

Dr Eden pointed out that her work does not show that this difference is the cause of dyslexia. "This really indicates that dyslexia is a biological abnormality, not the result of upbringing or education. It also shows that there's some involvement of the visual system in dyslexia," she noted that the V5/MT area is fully formed before birth, showing that dyslexia must be innate.

The reduced activity in the visual cortex does not mean that dyslexics have problems following words on the printed page, said Chris Firth, of the Institute of Neurology in London.

"The problem described is very small. It wouldn't directly affect the ability to read. You could only detect it in the lab."

But there may be related problems with the auditory cortex, which processes signals from the ears, he suggests.

Dr Eden intends to study that area of brain function next.

Dr Firth believes that dyslexics might all have more deep-seated problems in processing data, either from eyes or ears.

Dyslexics have problems in detecting whether words or letters rhyme – a process which depends on recognising changes in the frequency of syllables.

The British Dyslexia Association welcomed the results.

"It should show the doubters, of whom there are too many, that it's not just the invention of frustrated middle-class parents who are disappointed at their children's performance in school," said a spokesman. "It's very welcome."

Mission possible: red tape cut to boost film industry

LOUISE JURY

It looked like a mission impossible: making a Hollywood blockbuster in the heart of London without making the movie-makers mad.

The British capital was notoriously difficult. Dublin, Prague, Berlin – all have welcomed film crews to their heart. But London's reputation was for infuriating red tape.

Until now. The blockbuster film, *Mission Impossible*, has marked a turning point.

When Tom Cruise and Kristin Scott Thomas, the film's stars, arrive at the gala premiere in Leicester Square tonight, their glitzy smiles will be matched only by the beam of satisfaction on the face of London Film Commissioner Christabel Albery.

She has spearheaded efforts to cajole and persuade police, councils and anyone who cares to listen of the vital economic importance of making London a film-makers' paradise. It appears to be working.

The Saint, starring Val Kilmer, has been filmed this year in corners of the capital from the City to Earl's Court. *One Hundred and One Dalmatians* was shot in Trafalgar and Leicester Squares, St James's Park and on the banks of the Thames.

In *Mission Impossible*, which opens nationwide tomorrow, a helicopter swoops past Tower Bridge. Tom Cruise runs through hosepipe-generated rain at Liverpool Street station and regulars will recognise the Anchor pub near Southwark Cathedral.

Paul Hitchcock, executive producer of both *Mission Impossible* and *The Saint*, said: "We've found that things are much easier now than they were."

"Nothing is perfect, but Christopher Brock, the location manager, feels that the boroughs and the police have been much more helpful than in the past. We've used numerous locations, and to think it's all gone very well is a compliment to London."

The praise is dear to Ms Albery's heart. More than three years ago, she first dreamt of a film commission to smooth the way for the movie industry. Last year, she won a £100,000 government grant and this autumn she plans the "official launch".

But she and her small team, based in a former pub off the Portobello Road, have already produced a code of practice and helped more than 40 feature



Starring role: Liverpool Street station is one of the central London locations featured in Tom Cruise's blockbuster movie, *Mission Impossible*. Photograph: Murray Close/Paramount

films with inquiries on everything from locations to technical staff.

"I watched (the action film) *Die Hard With A Vengeance* to see what New York does to support film-making," Ms Albery said. "And what they do is staggering. I think if it is possible in a busy city like New York, we should try to make it happen here."

Mission Impossible, a remake of the hit Sixties' American television show, might not

have come to the city without London Film Commission persuasion.

"When they were deciding where to shoot it, they were quite keen not to shoot it here," Ms Albery said. The makers about seen old council rules about filming in London and they arrived at the meeting "absolutely horrified".

"It was a very testing meeting. They came up with all these demands and I just went on insisting that, as long as they

gave us notice, we could schedule it."

It worked. "When they left, they definitely had a different feeling about London."

Bill Neilly, who has liaised with filming in the borough of Southwark since television's *The Bill* first arrived on its doorstep eight years ago, said relations had certainly improved in recent years. "We give them as free a hand as we can," he said.

Maurice Pillinger, from

Westminster council, said knowing the London Film Commission was on hand if a problem emerged gave them the confidence to be flexible.

When the producers of *One Hundred and One Dalmatians* wanted to film in central London, the council had doubts about the motley collection of production vehicles. "All the lawyers live in Westminster – everybody knows how to complain," Mr Pillinger said.

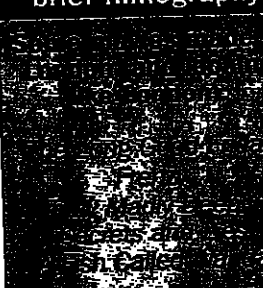
So he asked the film compa-

ny to paint all its vans in uniform blue and white. There were no complaints.

The capital is still losing films to rivals like Ireland which provide generous tax incentives, but Ms Albery said a number were now taking advantage of the newly-forged helpfulness of the capital.

"Film-makers shoot where they feel they are welcome, where things are made easy for them," she said. And London is now trying.

Made in London: A brief filmography



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politics

PM's new pay to rise to £143,000 a year

ANTHONY BEVINS
Political Editor

The House of Commons will next week spurn a Government call for pay restraint, with a free vote that is confidently expected to carry a 26 per cent pay rise for MPs.

Backbench MPs will endorse a recommendation from the Senior Salaries Review Body, to be published today, that they receive a rise of more than £170 a week, moving them up from £34,085 to £34,255, backdated to the start of this month.

As the *Independent* reported yesterday, some MPs will lose on the roundabouts what they win on the salary swings. The review body report calls for the high-rate mileage allowance of 74.1 pence for 2,300cc-plus cars to be cut to the existing lower rate of 47.2p a mile.

Some MPs were calculating that, once tax was taken into

Projected pay rises

Prime Minister: Now £84,217, recommended £143,000
Cabinet ministers: £69,651, recommended £103,000
The Speaker: £69,651, recommended £103,000
Cabinet ministers in the House of Lords: £57,161, recommended £77,963
Leader of the Opposition: £64,167, recommended £98,000
Ministers of State: £56,785, recommended £74,125
Junior ministers: £49,283, recommended £66,623
Backbench MPs: £34,085, recommended £34,255

account, this change would wipe out the pay rise.

But John Major is expected to urge the House to set a public example and exercise restraint in its vote next week. The Prime Minister's office said last night that public sector pay policy was based on effort, merit and affordability.

Those criteria will certainly be applied by the Cabinet to the recommendation of the review body on their own salaries, which would rocket from

£69,651 to £103,000, an increase of 48 per cent, to take effect after the election.

But even that figure was capped when it came to the office of Prime Minister, with the report urging that whoever wins the next election should take a rise of 70 per cent, from £84,217 to £143,000.

Other recommended rises include a move from £69,651 to £103,000 for the Speaker, and £98,000, up nearly £34,000, for the Leader of the Opposition.

The proposals brought instant condemnation from union leaders and left-wing MPs.

Barry Reamsbottom, general secretary of the Civil and Public Service Union, said: "I am not against MPs and ministers getting the rate for the job. But it is gross double standards if they don't apply the same principles to those they employ."

Chris Mullin, left-wing MP for Sunderland South, told the *Independent* that he would table amendments opposing an inflation-busting pay deal.

But those views left many Labour MPs spluttering with rage. Sir Terence Higgins, the senior Tory backbencher, said: "Over the last 30 years, there has been no real-terms increase in pay for MPs, and... Ministers' pay has halved." Sir Terence said the report represented a welcome attempt to restructure pay.

Slickers and slackers, page 20



Suffer the little children: John Crozier and his son Jack, 3, whose sister Emma died in the Dunblane tragedy, arrive at the House of Commons to support the "Snowdrop" petition calling for tougher firearms controls. Photograph: Nicholas Turpin

Challenge to Tories over Scottish vote

STEPHEN GOODWIN
Parliamentary Correspondent

John Major was challenged yesterday to say whether the Conservatives would accept the verdict if the Scottish people voted in a referendum to set up an Edinburgh parliament.

In a trenchant defence of Labour's promise of referendums on devolution, Lord Irvine of Lairg, the shadow Lord Chancellor and one of Tony Blair's closest advisers, said he was confident of securing a powerful "Yes" vote.

"If the Scottish people say 'Yes' in the referendum, will the Conservative Party accept the will of the Scottish people, or will they go on opposing devolution?" he asked, as peers began a two-day debate on the Constitution.

Lord Jenkins of Hillhead, leader of the Liberal Democrat peers, warned of recreating the troubles of Ireland at the beginning of the century if the "settled wish" of the Scottish people was defied.

"It would be an experience which we would be foolish not to have at the back of our minds," the former Labour Cabinet minister told peers.

The Government staged the debate in the hope of wrong-footing Labour over its plans for a "Tartan tax-raising Parliament". Lord Mackay of Clashfern, the Lord Chancellor and himself a Scot, said Mr Blair's proposals contained serious flaws and risked breaking up the United Kingdom.

He told peers the difference in size of the nations of the UK made balanced devolution impossible: Scottish legislation would no longer be scrutinised

in a second chamber and investment would suffer.

"It is crucial that the risks of devolution are recognised. I do not believe it is satisfactory to pledge a referendum to be held before a devolution Bill is proposed," Lord Mackay said.

Scots would be voting before knowing how difficulties, particularly financial ones, would be resolved.

But Lord Irvine, in a speech praised by Lord Jenkins as one of the most powerful he had heard in the House, said the Conservative Party had become as autocratic as it was remote: "A large part of the malaise that grips our country stems from a profound disillusion with its system of government."

Labour believes the Government is over-centralised, he said. The institutions of democracy should be brought closer to the people they represented. There was a contradiction at the core of Conservative thinking - "Yes to subsidiarity in Europe; No to subsidiarity in the UK."

Lord Irvine cited enthusiastic support in the early 1970s for a Scottish parliament with tax raising powers from Margaret Thatcher, the Scottish Secretary Michael Forsyth and his predecessors Ian Lang and Malcolm Rifkind. "How the vision of youth can fall prey to crabby middle age," he quipped.

Reaffirming that Labour would "certainly" campaign for a parliament with tax varying powers of up to 3p in the pound, he told peers: "The referendum decision is right in principle. It signals no weakening of commitment. On the contrary, the purpose of the referendum is to demonstrate the demand for devolution."

Army families will be safe

CHRISTOPHER BELLAMY
Defence Correspondent

The Government's plans to lease 60,000 Ministry of Defence-owned married quarters will not disrupt service life as MPs and families feared, senior officers said yesterday.

But last night the Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo, was caught up in a fresh row over the £1.6bn sale when it was revealed that £4.4m has already been spent on consultants' fees.

So as the senior officers' announced their support for the revised scheme, Mr Portillo faced a renewed Tory backbench rebellion.

Despite threats of defeat in the Lords and Commons, the Defence Secretary is determined to go ahead with the sale.

And there was more alarm yesterday after Labour was told that families at RAF Farnborough, near Doncaster, had been given notices to quit their homes with the closure of the base.

David Clark, Labour's shadow defence secretary, said the £4.4m paid in fees "would have been better spent on forces' families than consultants".

But the chief of defence staff, Field Marshal Sir Peter Inge, said the political furor around the sale has obscured the real issues, and since alterations have been made, senior officers

are now happy that the assurances to be made to tenants are satisfactory.

The changes made to the Government's plan have concentrated on preserving the unity of the married quarter "patch" - the estates where the families live - and preventing the purchaser from selling sections unless strict requirements for providing alternative accommodation are met.

The "patch" is critically important to the services, in terms of lifestyle and also operationally. One of the officers said: "Soldiers go away to war. They leave behind nervous families. They can support each other in a way they couldn't if they were split up around the country."

Air Marshal Peter Squire, the MOD's deputy chief of staff for programmes and personnel, said the purchaser will immediately gain the freehold of the 2,500 homes which are currently surplus. The MOD will retain freehold of the rest of the estate, but will lease it to the purchaser for 999 years.

In the meantime, any sites which become surplus will be handed over to the lessee.

Of the £1.6bn sale, the MOD will get £100m, which will be used to improve the quality of houses. Air Marshal Squire said service families will benefit as a direct result of the scheme.

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Blair's image: Political opponents and satirists alike have found the Labour leader an awkward target to hit

Tories turn fire on gurus of the left

COLIN BROWN
Chief Political Correspondent

Having attacked Tony Blair's wife, and his cardigan, Conservative critics are now targeting the Labour leader's mind.

The Conservative assault on the Labour leader will be intensified next week with a sustained attack on Blair's "gurus" by David Willetts, a Government minister and former head of the Centre for Policy Studies, a right-wing think tank.

Cherie Booth was targeted by the party chairman, Brian Mawhinney, the cardigan Tony Blair wore in his Islington garden for the photograph on the front page of the *Independent* drew criticism. Mr Willetts now plans to take apart the philosophy underpinning "Blairism".

One of his main targets will be Peter Mandelson, the style guru behind Labour's new image, who also happens to be his Labour Shadow, as the spokesman on public service.

Mr Willetts, a former member of Baroness Thatcher's Downing Street policy unit, has named the political commentators he believes have changed attitudes which could help Tony Blair to win the battle of ideas at the next general election.

His 26,000-word pamphlet, to be published on Monday through the Conservative Political Centre, questions the acceptance of Blairism thought.

The Tory MP for Havant has told friends that he intends to challenge the eight "gurus" who have "created an environment in which Blairism can flourish".

The seriousness with which the Conservatives are treating the new climate for a Blairite Labour Party will be seen by

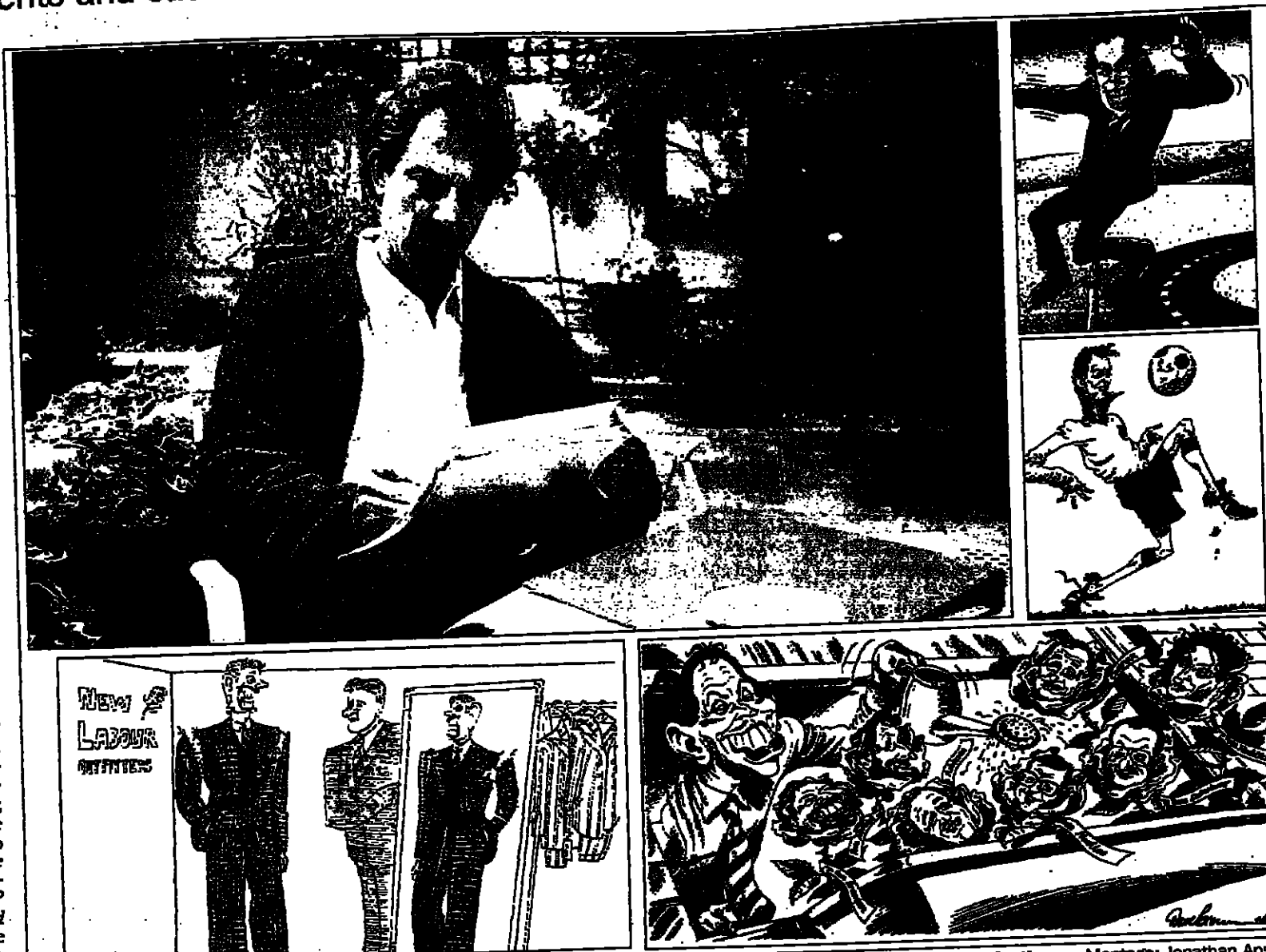
Labour as an admission of their failure to maintain the intellectual high ground since the demise of radical Thatcherism.

In addition to Mr Mandelson's work with Roger Liddle, *The Blair Revolution*, Mr Willetts's targets are: Will Hutton, author of *The State We're In*; John Gray, author of the Demos pamphlet *After Social Democracy*; Simon Jenkins, former editor of the *Times*, author of *Accountable to None* - the *Tory Nationalisation of Britain*; John Kay, an economist at the London Business School, who wrote *Foundations of Corporate Success*; David Marquand, former leading light of the SDP and author of *The Unprincipled Society*, a critique of Thatcherite individualism; Frank Field, Labour MP and an advocate of reform of the welfare state; and the editor of the *Independent*, Andrew Marr (over his book, *Ruling Britannia*, in which he describes the failure of British democratic institutions).

Mr Kay is targeted by Mr Willetts as the "father" of the theory of the stakeholder economy. It was after he had explained his philosophy in a private meeting that the Labour leader made his Singapore speech embracing stakeholding.

But Mr Kay's colleagues had doubts about the influence of the gurus on Mr Blair's policies. "He has picked up a few of their buzzwords, but whether Kay has influenced Blair's thinking is unclear... [and] Blair has not adopted everything that Hutton is saying. Hutton says the whole fabric of society, the role of the City, industry and the constitution, needs revolutionary change. You never hear Tony Blair talking about revolution."

Donald MacIntyre, page 28



Cardi saga: Cartoonists have made the most of his style lapses, but Blair is deliberately keeping his image indistinctive

Montage: Jonathan Anstey

Satire and the great cardy challenge

REBECCA FOWLER

After the cardigan came the smile, then there were the sticky-out ears, and, of course, Cherie. Tony Blair has become the satirists' nightmare, as they struggled to find any defining traits from the Labour leader's bland appearance, flawless family life and "estate agent" personality.

But the best is yet to come, according to cartoonists, impersonators and comedians across Britain, who believe that if Mr Blair takes a little more of the "estate agent" persona, he will be a success. "He's a bit of a twit, but he's a twit of a different kind," says one cartoonist. "He's a twit who's a twit of a twit."

John Moloney, the comedian, said: "If Tony Blair was a place, he'd be Milton Keynes. His image has been so protected by the machine behind him, it's almost Stalinist. There's a sense if you take the piss, you're airbrushed out of the picture."

He added: "The schoolboy image, with MPs as the prefects, is the most appropriate. He's the boy who would have read *Lord of the Flies*, written his name in Celtic runes on his exercise book and knew all the words to the hymns. He's also that mid-1980s, soft-metal, punk-passed-on-by-kind-of-bloke."

Chris Priestley, an illustrator and cartoonist for the *Economist* and the *Independent*, said: "The cardigan was about coming back with something as naïf as John Major's underpants. But as John Major's underpants, Blair is such an estate-agent figure, it won't be until he gets into

power that we'll really get a hold on him."

He added: "He is determined not to give us anything hard to push against, so we've gone overboard on what there is. He's got no more sticky-out ears than me, but you'd think he was an elephant, and the grin has turned into Jack Nicholson in *The Shining*."

There have been breakthroughs, however. Blair has posed one of the most bewildering challenges to impersonators, who enjoyed a golden era in the 1970s, led by Mike Yarwood who became almost indistinguishable from Harold Wilson, the Labour Prime Minister.

After struggling to capture Blair's physical appearance, Rory Bremner turned instead to the Labour leader's style of speaking in clipped, catchphrase terms - "New Labour", "Young Labour". His parody of Blair's speech has paved the way for the less amusing "Tory imitation".

Clive Anderson, the interviewer, is among those who believe Blair will only lend himself properly to satire when he takes up power. He said: "Maybe we'll all be looking back on Blair the Prime Minister as quite a colourful figure years down the line. Once he's gone, there will probably be someone even blander."

'Save and invest, not tax and spend'

MICHAEL HARRISON
AND JOHN RENTOUL

Tony Blair yesterday gave the most explicit pledge yet that a future Labour government would control public spending tightly and avoid penal rates of taxation.

On the eve of publication of the party's *Road to the Manifesto* programme, he promised that Labour's policy in power would be "save and invest, not tax and spend".

Addressing business leaders at the annual British Chambers of Commerce conference in Birmingham, Mr Blair said: "We will make it clear tomorrow that there can be no question of a short term dash for growth. We want sustainable, non-inflationary growth and we will set and hold to an explicit low target for inflation."

The Labour leader also pledged that there would be no return to the "penal" tax rates of the 1970s. "Indeed, we must have a tax system that is internationally competitive and fair and which encourages savings, investment, work and opportunity."

In a show of hands after his speech, the 300 business leaders voted by a ratio of 20 to 1 that Mr Blair would be the next prime minister.

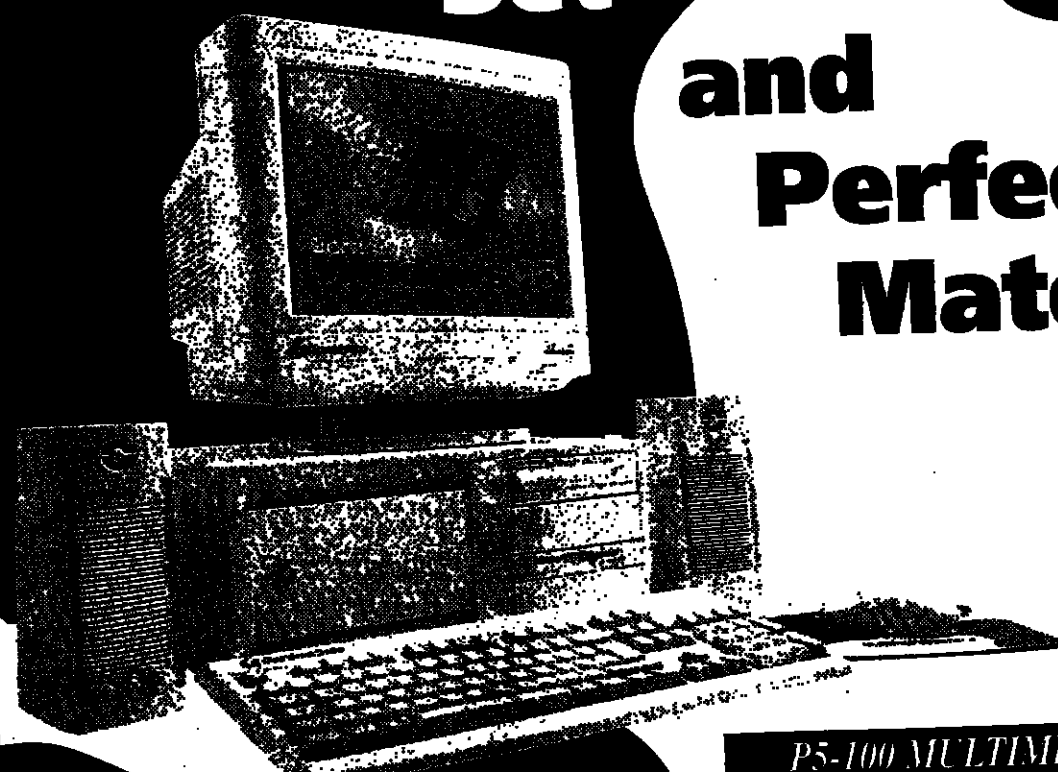
At the heart of Labour's programme in government would be reform of the welfare system, Mr Blair said. The aim would be to reduce the proportion of public spending on the benefits bill and on education.

He sought again to reassure business worries about the costs of signing the European Social Charter. He said a Labour Government "will insist that any new measure adopted under the Social Charter promotes fairness, not inflexibility".

Earlier, Mr Blair was attacked by John McAllion, who resigned last week over the Labour leader's U-turn on referendums, on Scottish and Welsh devolution. Mr McAllion broadened his criticism of Mr Blair, complaining that the manifesto would not commit a Labour Government to raise the state pension.

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Captives in Kashmir : Terry Waite and John McCarthy join families' call for separatist rebels to release Western travellers

'Get rid of the problem, let the hostages go'

LOUISE JURY

The first anniversary of the capture of Western hostages by Kashmiri rebels passes today, with an appeal from the former Lebanon hostage Terry Waite for their release.

Mr Waite joined relatives of the captives in broadcasting messages of love and support to the four men, including the Britons Keith Mangan and Paul Wells, whose whereabouts remain unknown.

Speaking on the BBC World Service yesterday, Mr Waite, formerly the Archbishop of Canterbury's special envoy, said nothing could be gained by keeping the men.

"Get rid of the problem and let the men go," he said in an interview with a fellow former Beirut hostage, John McCarthy, who now presents the programme *Outlook*, which sustained the two men through their own captivity.

"I am convinced that there are enough people in the world including myself who are prepared to take a fresh look at the problems facing people in that region but no one can do anything while hostages are still held."

Mr Mangan, 34, an electrician, from Eton, near Middlesbrough, his wife, Julie, Mr Wells, 25, a photography student from Blackburn, Lancashire,

and his girlfriend, Catherine Moseley, were seized at gunpoint about 60 miles east of the Kashmiri capital, Srinagar, last year.

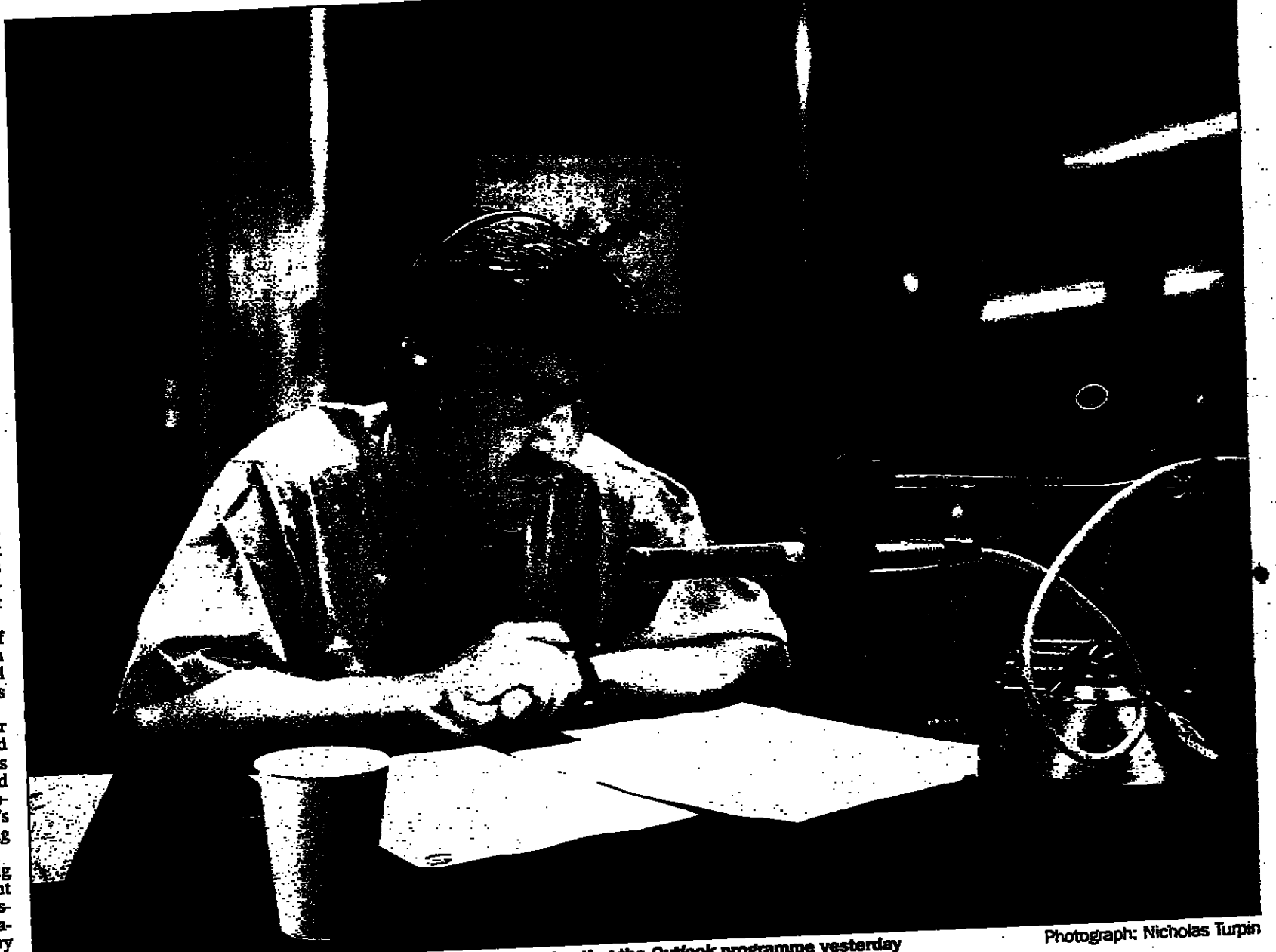
Mr Mangan and Miss Moseley were later released, but the British men were detained along with an American, Donald Shelley, a German, Dirk Hasert, and a Norwegian, Hans Ostroe, by the previously unknown Al-Faraz separatist group.

It demanded the release of Kashmiri militants from Indian jails and threatened to kill hostages unless their demands were met. They were not.

On 13 August last year, Mr Ostroe was found beheaded with "Al-Faraz" carved on his body. His despair was marked in a note found hidden in his underwear: "I'm dying. There's nothing to eat. There's nothing to live for."

News of the remaining hostages has remained scant with the British High Commission in Delhi working on the basis that "the hostages are very much alive" although a captured militant said they were killed on 13 December last year.

Julie Mangan yesterday recalled how she did not even have a chance to say goodbye when she was released. "He couldn't find his coat. I bent down to give him mine and when I looked up he was walking away."



Voice of experience: The former Beirut hostage John McCarthy hosting the *Outlook* programme yesterday

Photograph: Nicholas Turpin



Captives: (from left) Dirk Hasert, Donald Hutchings, Keith Mangan, Paul Wells and Hans Christian Ostroe in Kashmir

In a message she hoped her husband might hear, she said: "I know that we are in each other's hearts and to say I love you is inadequate."

"I know, Keith, that you are willing me to stay strong and you must do the same."

Sarah Wells, the sister of the hostage Paul, said: "He'll be finding it hard but he'll cope because he's a strong person."

However, the health of the hostages is expected to be poor because of the cold, poor diet, unhygienic conditions and the

mental strain of the ordeal. A Foreign Office spokesman said as much as possible was being done although there has been no direct contact with Al-Faraz since last year.

"There have been a lot of unconfirmed sightings and some

reports to the effect that the hostages are dead.

"But we are still working on the assumption they're alive. We have a lot of experts there on the ground."

Terry Waite and John McCarthy both heard messages

from friends and family similar to those broadcast yesterday when they were held hostage in Lebanon.

Today is also the 30th anniversary of the *Outlook* programme. It can be heard in the Kashmir region.

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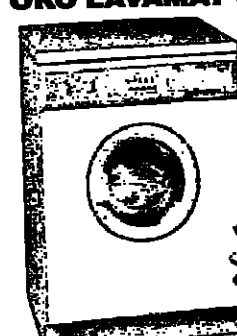
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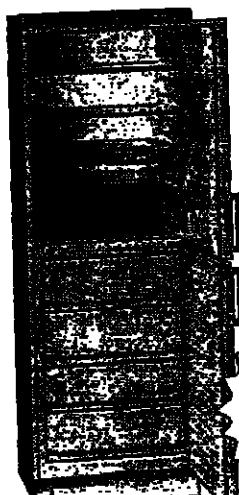
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PCA backs police station cameras

JASON BENNETTO
Crime Correspondent

The Police Complaints Authority yesterday called for closed-circuit television cameras to be installed in the custody areas of all police stations to help resolve complaints against officers.

The authority, which published its annual report yesterday, said the use of CCTV may lower the number of deaths in custody, of which there were 46 last year. The PCA said CCTV could remove the need for long, costly investigations by providing conclusive evidence.

A growing number of forces are already using CCTV in stations. In Staffordshire it is fitted in all custody suites, while in London a pilot project is running.

The PCA's acting chairman, Peter Moorhouse, said: "CCTV in custody suites is becoming a

must for two reasons. It's a must for the protection of the detained person. And if a police force has a businesslike approach it's a must because it reduces tactical and malicious complaints, and if there are complaints it cuts down the cost of investigating, because much of the evidence will be on video and becomes indisputable."

The PCA said investigations into complaints against Britain's 20,000 voluntary constables, or Specials, should be overseen by the authority rather than the police themselves.

The report also expressed concerns about the presence of cameras and journalists at high-profile raids and reporters obtaining tip-offs about the arrests of celebrities.

It disclosed that the PCA reviewed 4,154 cases during 1994-95, as a result of which 253 formal disciplinary charges were preferred against officers.

DAILY POEM

A Serious Poem

By Roger McGough

*This is a serious poem
It wears a serious face
It does not fritter away the word.
It knows its place*

*Perfectly balanced
Neither too long or too short
It gazes solemnly heavenwards
Like a real poem ought*

*Familiar with the classics
It drops names with ease
Here comes Plato with Lycides
And look, there's Demosthenes!*

*Poetry at its best
And British through and through
A web site for sore eyes
That serves to welcome you.*

*A poem often ends with two lines
that rhyme. But not always.*

Roger McGough's poem went live on the World Wide Web yesterday when the British Council launched its web site for the promotion of arts, language, science and technology (<http://www.britcoun.org>). Missing - perforce - is McGough's hypnotic and deadpan delivery which makes him such an outstanding poet in performance. The Liverpool Poets - McGough, Adrian Henri and Brian Patten - have recently re-formed, a year ahead of their 30th anniversary, and are around and about with Willy Russell.

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This object of devotion to a great saint belongs in Britain

The Becket Chasse comes up for auction today, and could be moving abroad. This is a rare and marvellous survival from the Middle Ages, and it belongs in Britain simply because it would not mean nearly so much to an audience anywhere else.

Fine works of art leave Britain every year. Fra Bartolomeo's *Holy Family* from the Gage Collection, recently sold to the Getty Museum for £1.4m, is a recent example. But few carry such a rich freight of meaning specifically for us as does this colourful and boldly designed reliquary casket.

It was probably made shortly after the brutal murder of the saint whose relics it may have once contained.

The death of Saint Thomas à Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1170 appalled the Christian world, and his shrine at Canterbury was visited by countless pilgrims, including those conjured up in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. But during the Reformation, the treasures of our great churches were stripped bare. Precious few works remain to give us an

First Person

By David Barnes, Director of the National Art Collections Fund.

The Fund was the first to support the Victoria and Albert Museum in its bid to acquire the Becket Chasse, with a grant of £100,000, and has been at the forefront of the campaign to save the Chasse from being lost to the nation at auction.

idea of what was lost; this Chasse is an outstanding example.

Since the Chasse is not a great Renaissance painting or a lush neoclassical statue, it doesn't come with a ready-made fan club. This is, for most of us, unfamiliar territory. It is not a "work of art" in the modern sense: its maker would probably not have grasped the meaning of that elusive concept.

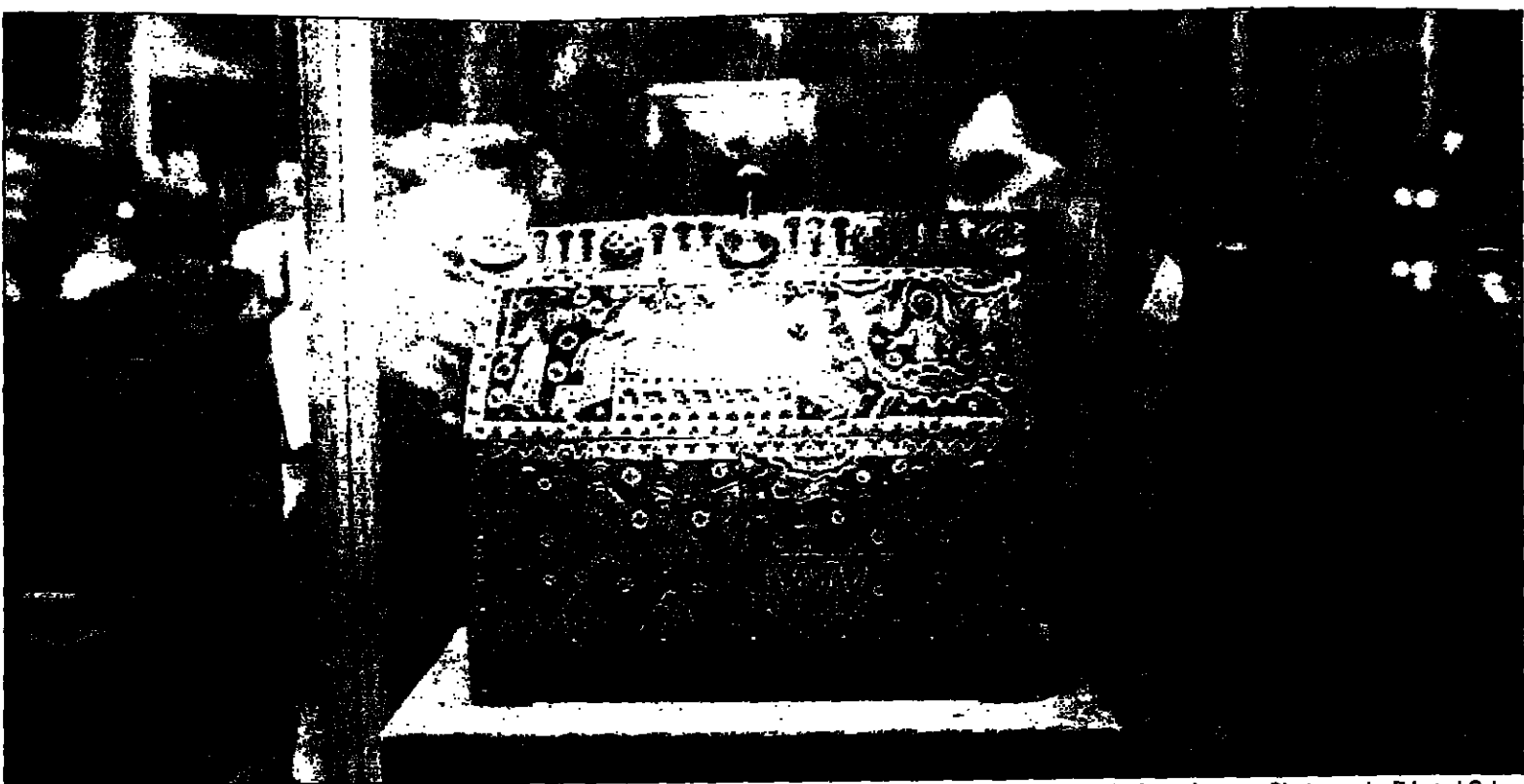
It was created as an object of religious devotion for the glorification of a great saint and martyr. Strange words these, in our secular age, but perhaps we

can still grasp something of what they once meant.

The Chasse is a dramatic evocation of the stark conflict between good and evil. The design is simple, almost crude, but so much is packed into it: the cruel murder, the stately funeral and the soul of Becket raised up to heaven by angels.

It has not been in Britain for all of the last 50 years, so there is no prospect of the Government delaying its export to allow time for fundraising. But few works so perfectly fulfil the criteria applied by the Export Reviewing Committee – it is an object "so closely connected with our history and national life that its departure would be a misfortune": one of aesthetic importance and outstanding cultural significance.

The Chasse was probably made for Peterborough Abbey (now Cathedral), quite possibly commissioned by Abbot Benedict, a close associate of Becket. If it stays on these shores, would it not be good if it could pay an occasional visit to its old home, Peterborough, and, perhaps, Canterbury too?



Should our history be up for grabs? The Saint Thomas à Becket Chasse is up for auction and could be sold abroad

Photograph: Edward Sykes

A woman to replace Isaacs at the ROH

DAVID LISTER

A woman looks certain to take over the running of the Royal Opera House, in London, for the first time. Four high-profile women in the arts are being considered by the ROH board to take over as general director when Sir Jeremy Isaacs retires next year. But it is understood that the nature of the post is likely to change.

The present director of the Royal Opera, Nicholas Payne, looks likely to continue in that key role on the artistic side and be an important influence on artistic policy at Covent Garden. The post of general director will become much more an administrative role, with the new occupant working alongside Mr Payne.

An unofficial short-list of four leading women in the arts has been considered by the ROH board. The quartet comprises Genista Mackintosh, executive director at the Royal National Theatre; Mary Allen, secretary-general of the Arts Council; Elaine Padmore, a much-praised opera intendant and broadcaster; and Ruth McKenzie who ran the Nottingham Playhouse and won it a national reputation.

Genista Mackintosh is looking like the favourite for the job. As executive director at the Na-

tional Theatre, she has run the administrative and production side after moving to the National from the RSC, while Richard Eyre has been the more high-profile artistic director. A similar arrangement with Mr Payne at Covent Garden would appeal to the ROH board.

Mary Allen has publicly stated that she would not be taking the job, but this possibility is nevertheless not being ruled out either at the ROH or the Arts Council. Ruth McKenzie is thought to lack sufficient national experience, while Elaine Padmore, though much admired at Covent Garden, might want to continue her career as a director of operas both in Britain and abroad.

Peter Jonas, the former general director of the English National Opera (ENO), now running the Staatsoper in Munich was also high on the ROH's list of desirable properties, but he is understood to be unwilling to leave Munich at present.

The new general director will join at a fraught period in the ROH's history. Next year, the house closes down for two years for redevelopment.

The Royal Opera will perform at a number of London venues, including the Barbican Centre, and the Royal Ballet will perform both in London and will tour nationally and internationally. Nearly 300 redundancies are planned because of the temporary move from Covent Garden, and the new general director will have to cope with the industrial relations repercussions from this.

In addition to these problems, the ROH is now without a finance director at a time when it must raise millions of pounds for its redevelopment to match the lottery money it has received. The finance director Clive Timms resigned from the Royal Opera last month for personal reasons.



Candidate: Mary Allen from the Arts Council

Sculptures to be put in Trafalgar

Plans to exhibit some of the best of British sculpture on an empty plinth in London's Trafalgar Square were unveiled yesterday.

The Royal Society of Arts wants five different works to be commissioned or selected for display on the site for up to a year each.

The five sculptures will represent a range of schools or styles of sculpture, from existing bronze to recent developments and contemporary work, and will include one Victorian sculpture, one recent sculpture and three new sculpture commissions.

The plan was outlined by Prue Leith, the cookery expert and writer, who now chairs the RSA.

She said: "Because people feel so strongly about art, there are passionate advocates for works from traditional bronze

equestrians to cutting-edge contemporary installations.

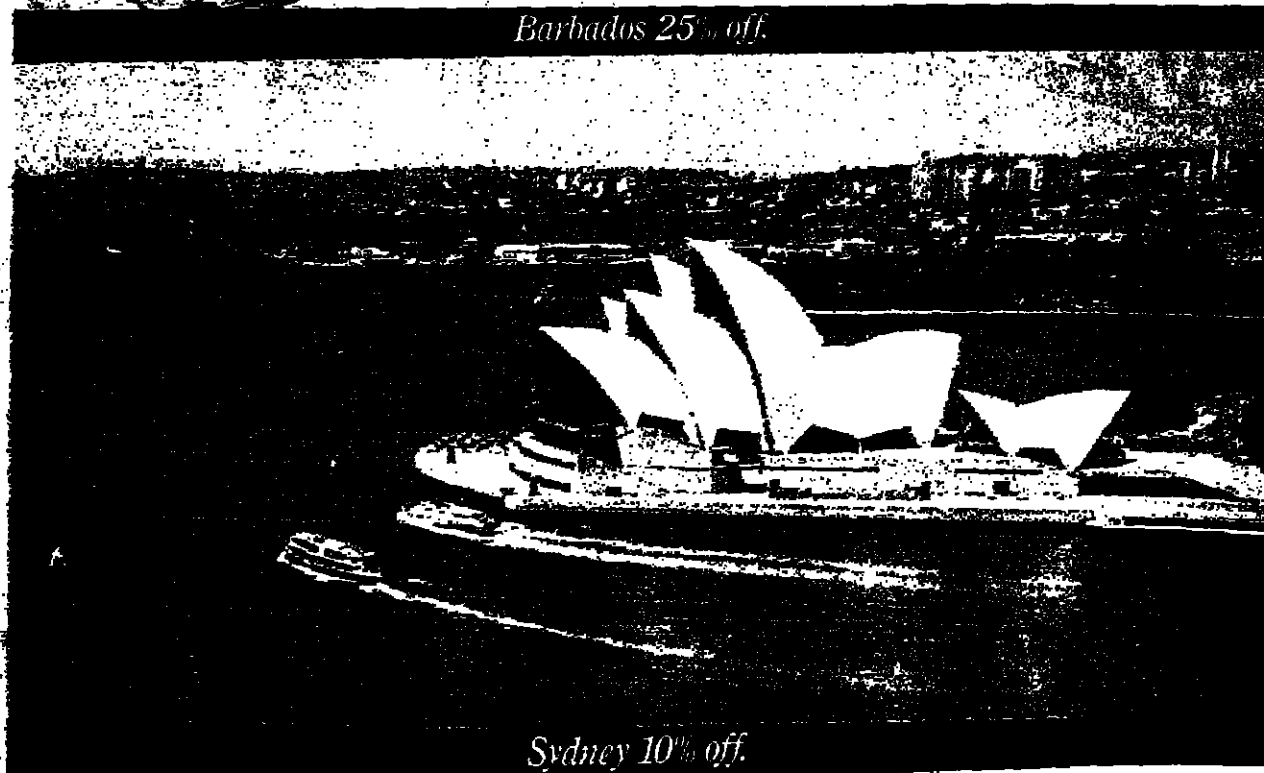
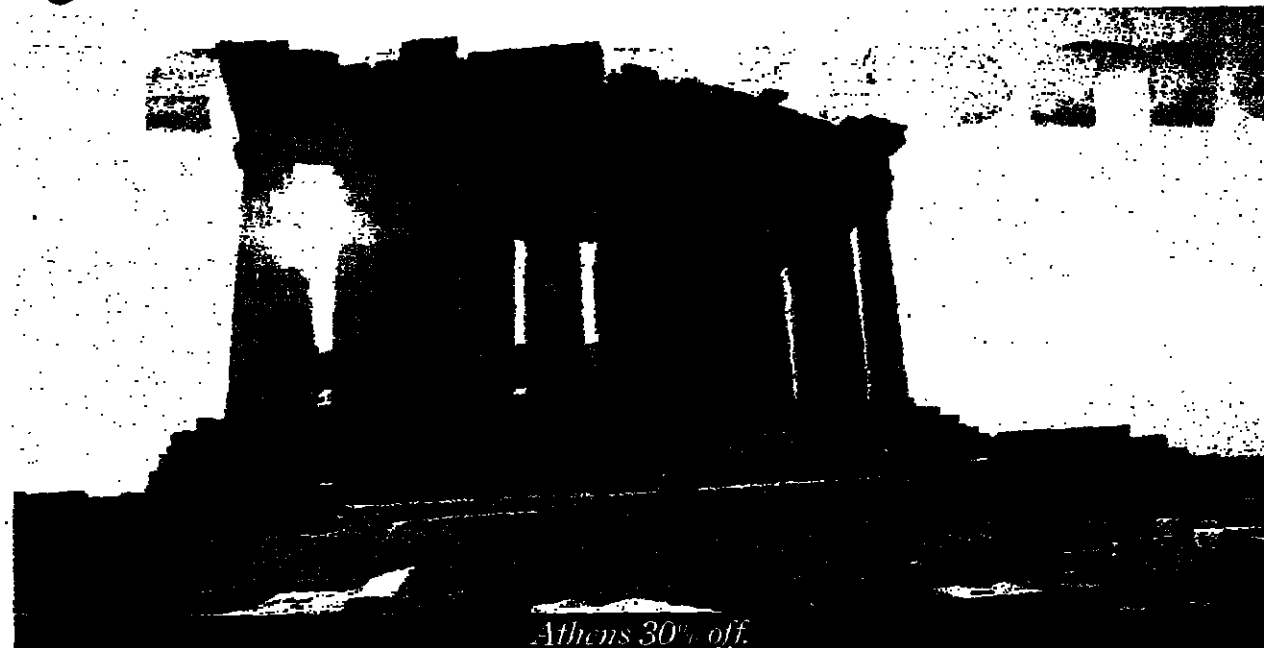
But our solution – which is to erect a series of works from different traditions (both existing sculptures and new commissions) in a five-year series on the plinth – has the support of the public and of the various bodies with an interest in Trafalgar Square.

"We are trying to put five great works of art, one at a time, on that single plinth – a plinth which has been empty for 150 years, ever since it was built, because no one could agree on what should go there."

The total cost of the RSA initiative, which has to be approved by the Department of National Heritage and Westminster Council, will be in the region of £1.5m.

The RSA has applied for National Lottery money.

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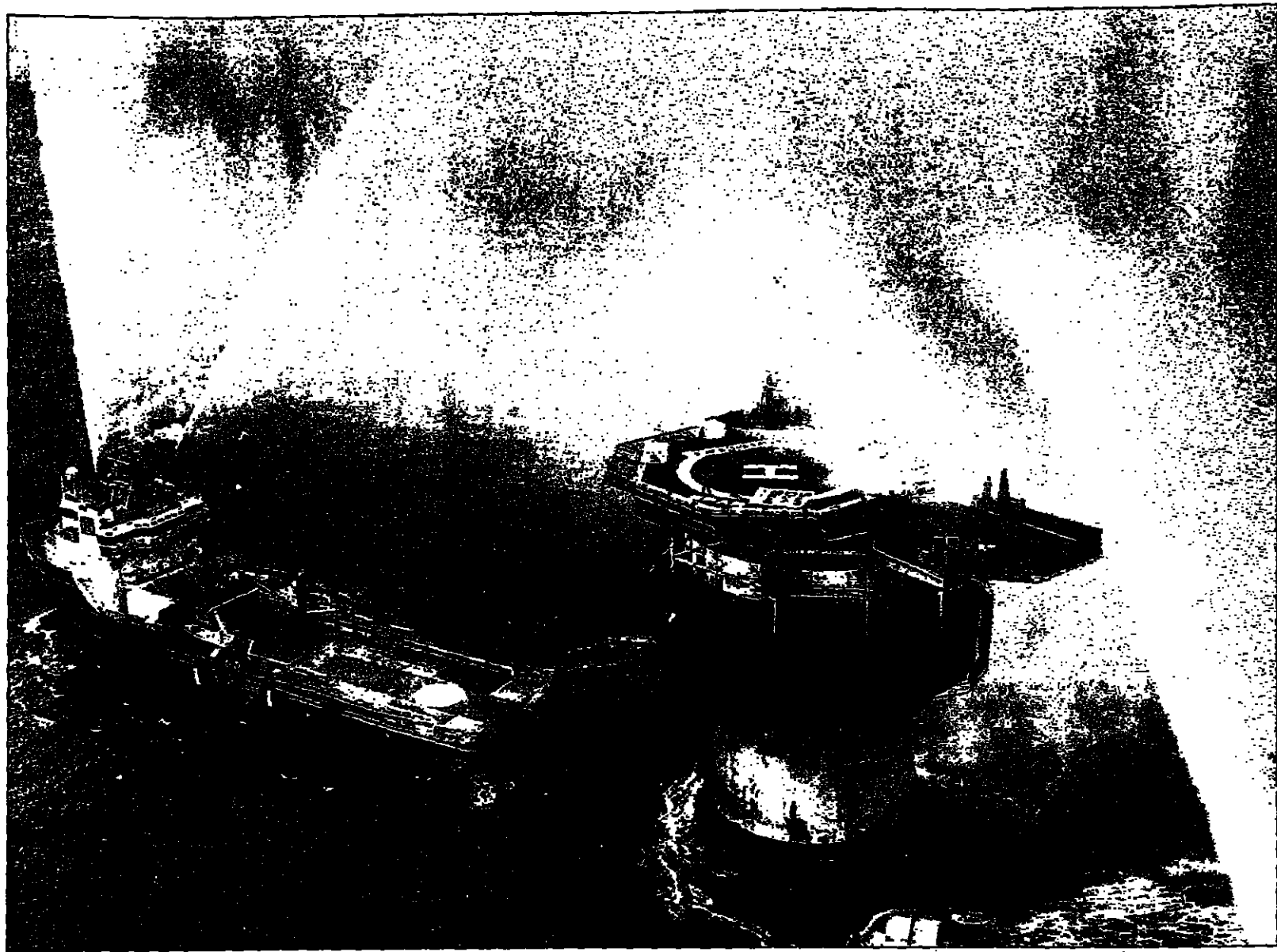
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Predicament for Shell: Leading contractors tender proposals for safely decommissioning controversial oil storage tank



Making waves: Greenpeace protesters braved the water cannon last year to stop Shell sinking the Brent Spar oil storage buoy. Photograph: Greenpeace

Break-up threat to Brent Spar's final voyage

NICHOLAS SCHOON
Environment Correspondent

Shell has run into a new problem as it tries to work out an acceptable way of disposing of its giant Brent Spar oil storage buoy.

A study on the 14,500-tonne structure by the engineering consultants WS Atkins has shown that the Spar would buckle and break if the cheapest and easiest technique to bring it on shore was used.

Ever since a successful Greenpeace campaign halted Shell's attempts to sink the Spar in the north-east Atlantic just over a year ago, the giant oil company has been working on different disposal options, which include bringing it ashore and breaking it up for scrap.

In the meantime the structure, essentially a vast cylindrical, crude-oil storage tank over 400ft tall, has been anchored in a deep Norwegian fjord.

Shell had been considering simply reversing the method it

used to put the Spar into use in its Brent field, half-way between Shetland and Norway, back in the early 1970s.

This involved gradually letting sea water into its storage tanks in a controlled sequence, which turned it from floating on its side with a shallow draught (once it had been taken out of dry dock where it was built) into floating on its end.

The new study, which used advanced computer techniques not available when the Spar was designed, has shown that the Spar would almost certainly rupture its one-inch thick walls if this sequence was reversed. So if it is to be brought ashore, another method will have to be found.

At a press conference yesterday, Shell UK said that 21 leading contractors from eight different nations had now received firm invitations to set out their options for disposal of the Brent Spar.

They will have to offer the best combination of minimising environmental damage, risks to disposal workers' health and safety and costs.

Eric Faulds, Shell's decommissioning manager, said the 21 contractors had not yet told Shell what they had in mind, but they had been selected on the basis of their reputation, previous experience and financial viability.

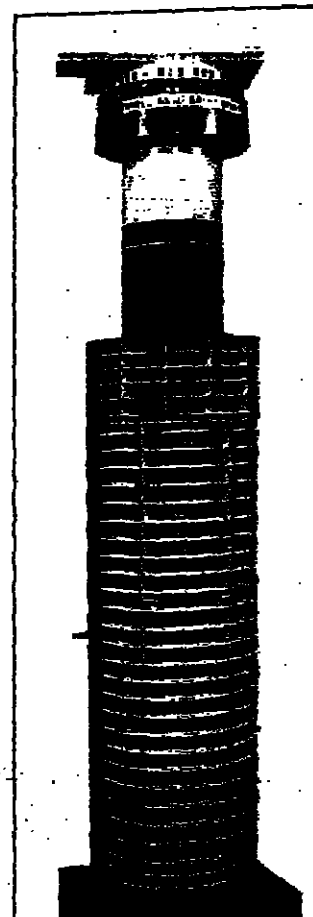
"When we get down to a shortlist of half a dozen schemes we want a spread of options," he said. "We don't want them all to involve bringing it ashore and breaking it up."

"I would hope we would get some fairly imaginative proposals which involve re-use of a large part of the structure intact, for example in a breakwater or a harbour."

He said that Shell had not ruled out the deep-sea disposal option which attracted such controversy a year ago, because that might yet prove to be the best practical environmental choice. "The world is a different place now, however, and we've had so many ideas and so much interest that I'm still reasonably optimistic we can find a better alternative."

Whatever disposal option Shell eventually decides on will have to be approved by the Government.

Heinz Rothermund, Shell's exploration and production managing director, promised more dialogue with pressure groups and the public in



The future? The Spar as a hotel? Photograph: David Rose

selecting an option. "We have acknowledged that we originally set out to dispose of the Spar without explaining what we were doing early enough or widely enough," Shell has placed a Brent Spar site on the Internet.

The Spar, although emptied after 20 years of use, still contains several dozen tonnes of oily sludge, much smaller quantities of toxic metals and some mildly radioactive salts which have built up on its pipework and tank linings. There is a scientific consensus that these would pose only an extremely small threat if the structure was dumped at a depth of 7,000 feet in the Atlantic, as was originally planned.

One of the many ideas sent into Shell over the past year has been to use the Spar as a fish ranch in a Norwegian fjord. Proposed by a businessman in the fish-farming equipment business, this would involve feeding fish guts and offal from fish farms to crabs, lobsters and fish, which would congregate in huge numbers around the sunken structure.

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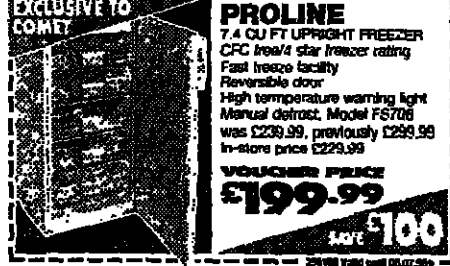


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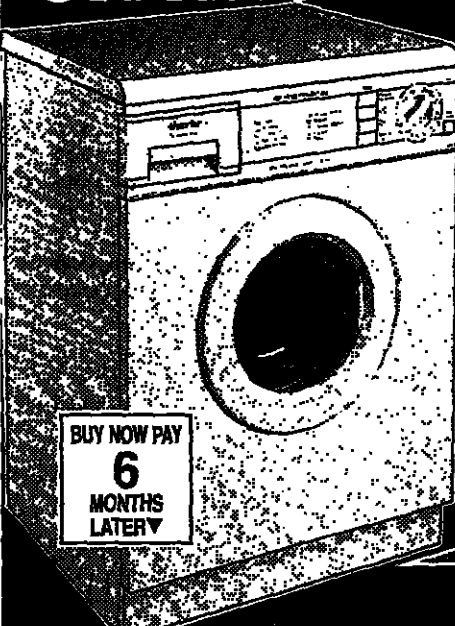


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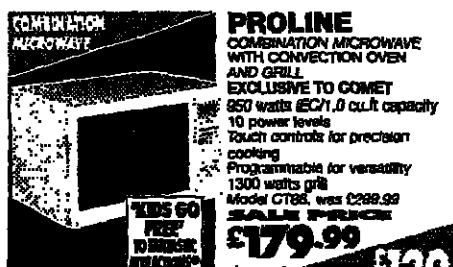


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RUSSIAN ELECTIONS

Voices from the cities: Fears for Yeltsin's health, worries over rise of Lebed and boredom with polls erode President's support

Weary voters bring no cheer to reform camp

PHIL REEVES
St Petersburg

Boris Yeltsin, struggling anew with serious health problems, would have taken no cheer from the sight of his voters trudging to the polls in St Petersburg, one of his main strongholds. Many of those who braved a rain-soaked day looked as if they were being forced to take a dip in one of the chilly-looking nearby canals.

This elegant city, home to much of Russia's liberal intelligentsia, finally seems to be sick of politics. "People have had it up to here," said Yevgeny Galanov, an election official, as he watched people trickle slowly into his polling station.

It's hardly surprising. In the last seven months St Petersburg has gone to the polls five times — once for a parliamentary election, twice for the presidential contest and twice to determine a particularly cynical tussle for the city governor's job.

A communal weariness, underscored by other issues, such as organised crime, a sluggish economy and liberal outrage over Mr Yeltsin's handling of Chechnya war, was reflected in the turnout last month. Only 62 per cent took part in the first round of the presidential election, 8 per cent less than the national average.

But if Mr Yeltsin's advisers believed that non-voters would finally rally round the President in yesterday's run-off, they may have been mistaken.

This is not because of a lack of effort by the Yeltsin campaign, even though it fizzled out badly towards the end. Although Mr Yeltsin secured a big victory here, almost 50 per cent in the first round, his advisers know well that a low turnout is ominous: Communist voters tend always to vote, while Mr Yeltsin's support is far less predictable. They also know that St Petersburg is a bastion of Grigory Yavlinsky, the liberal

economist who grudgingly backs Mr Yeltsin. For the President to be sure of victory, many of these voters needed to be won over.

Hence, the thousands of copies of a free paper called "Vote!" that have circulated in the city's metro system, carrying appeals from celebrated local writers and artists; the city's decision to arrange for graffiti to be painted on walkways, bearing colourful warnings to the city to "Vote or Lose"; and the free travel on the city's public transport system throughout yesterday's national holiday.

Most voters knew something was amiss with Mr Yeltsin's health, although it was heavily played down by much of the media, which only made occasional references to his "sore throat", and latterly, his "cold". Years of Communist censorship have taught Russians to read between the lines. Like others, Vladimir Korobkov, a dancer



Secret ballot: Soldiers check a woman's bag at a polling station in Grozny, Chechnya

Photograph: Vladimir Svatzevich/Reuters

with the Maly Theatre, had reservations about Mr Yeltsin and has watched with alarm the rise of retired general Alexander Lebed. "The man's a dictator," he said.

Alexander Kulakov, a driver, voted for the general in June, but yesterday decided not to turn out. "I thought I was voting for a military man, not a would-be president. I don't like

all the power he is getting," he said. "It's not democratic". In the first round, Dmitry Maksimov, an engineer at St Petersburg's giant Kirov factory, voted for Mr Yeltsin, believing

he would win overwhelmingly. Yesterday he supported Gennady Zyuganov, the Communist. "I would have voted for Boris Nikolayevich if it had not been for all those silly anti-

Communist movies on television," he explained. "I don't reject my past. They showed an old lady in a campaign advertisement, saying 'I live well now' when I know she does not."

Brazilian soap keeps public from dachaland

HELEN WOMACK
Moscow

Foreign journalists waited for two hours yesterday to watch Boris Yeltsin vote in Moscow, only to be told that he had cast his ballot beyond the glare of publicity in a village outside the city. Many quickly jumped to the worst conclusions about the health of the president, who had already aroused suspicions by dropping from view in the last days of the election campaign.

Many Russians were unaware that the Kremlin leader had failed to turn up at his usual polling station near his home in the prestigious suburb of Krylatskoye, and had voted instead

"It's not good news, of course," said Mikhail Vasin, a young businessman, "but I have voted for Yeltsin anyway. I think he will be okay. He's a healthy bloke, a sportsman. So what if he drinks? We all drink, don't we? And even if he has to retire, it won't be the end of the world. He has a good team around him. But Zyuganov — if he wins, that will be the end of the world."

Olga Grigorievna, a doctor, was equally calm after voting for the incumbent president. "We're all people. We can all get colds," she said, showing more faith in the official explanation of Mr Yeltsin's absence than most foreign observers here.

One might have thought that Russians, who lived through the last days of Leonard Brezhnev, when the Kremlin made ridiculous claims that the dying leader had only minor ailments, would have been more inclined to question what they were told. Perhaps strong Yeltsin supporters just did not want to contemplate the worst. For Communists, of course, news that Mr Yeltsin was not well only strengthened their determination to vote for Mr Zyuganov, who last week was ostentatiously dancing and playing volleyball to prove he was in good health.

"I have known Yeltsin since he was in Sverdlovsk [as regional Communist leader in the Soviet era] and I can tell you that his drink problem goes back that far," said Vasily Parfyonov, a retired journalist and Zyuganov voter. "He may be trying to fight his weakness but the passion for alcohol is not curable. Russia needs a healthy leader."

If the president is forced to retire because of ill health, the constitution says the prime minister should take over pending fresh elections. But General Alexander Lebed's appointment as Mr Yeltsin's national security adviser has added a new factor. He has said he favours the revival of the post of vice-president, and clearly aspires to the top Kremlin job for himself.

Yesterday, Yeltsin voters understood that they were choosing a package which included General Lebed, a nationalist and advocate of strict law and order. Some found the situation reassuring; others did not. "The fact that Lebed is at his side gives me more confidence to vote for Yeltsin," said Valya Zosikova, who spent last year in Cambridge. "Lebed will see that everything is all right."

But Kostya Fadeyev, a student of computer studies, disagreed. "I'm voting for Yeltsin, not Lebed," he said. "I don't want to see Lebed coming in through the back door. He added, however, that he did not think this likely. "Lebed will be out in six months. He's a soldier. He's too straight to survive for long in the Kremlin."

Gen Alexander Lebed: Kremlin ambitions

at Barvikha where he convalesced last year after his two heart attacks. Those who knew took the news in their stride. It was not going to influence voting decisions that they had made weeks if not months ago. "I have voted for a person whom I do not greatly respect but who will take us forward into the future," said Larissa Sergeyevna, in her late forties, who did not want to reveal the secret of her vote but was nevertheless implying that she had chosen Mr Yeltsin. Did she know that he was apparently ill? "Ah, that's nothing," she said. "We have got used to him disappearing from time to time. He'll be back."

She was one of only a trickle of voters at the polling station on Dostoyevsky Street in central Moscow yesterday morning. To discourage city dwellers from taking advantage of the warm weather and travelling out to their dachas instead of voting, state television was showing a triple episode of a popular Brazilian soap opera, *Tropicana*. Many people were evidently glued to their sets.

But voting seemed to pick up after lunch. At 2pm there was a livelier flow of people coming from polling station No 2148 in the Akademicheskaya district of the city, and most of them said they had voted for Mr Yeltsin rather than Gennady Zyuganov, the Communist leader, despite whatever health problems he might have.

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RUSSIAN ELECTIONS

Yeltsin's death may spark succession crisis

Moscow — Boris Yeltsin's poor health, the focal point of interest for foreigners if not for Russians in yesterday's presidential election, raises questions as to whether the transfer of power will take place smoothly.

On paper, the picture is clear. The Russian constitution, adopted in December 1993, states that in the event of the President's death, or incapacity to fulfil his duties, his job passes temporarily to the Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin. The Prime Minister is then obliged to call fresh presidential elections within three months.

In practice, there is no certainty that Russia would easily surmount the upheaval provoked by Mr Yeltsin's premature departure from office. The constitutional mechanisms that are in place have never been tested and may count for little against a centuries-old tradition of power struggles, often violent, that have accompanied the demise of a tsar or party chief.

Moreover, whereas the constitution is considered almost sacred by the political classes in a country such as the United States, there is no such devotion in Russia to a document that is widely seen as having been tailor-made for Mr Yeltsin. He drew up the constitution in the aftermath of the armed upris-

A transfer of power is unlikely to be a peaceful, orderly process, writes Tony Barber

ing in the Russian parliament building in October 1993. The extraordinary range of powers that it granted him at the expense of the legislature was designed to ensure that no one could mount a serious threat to his rule again.

The fragility of Russia's constitutional order was exposed shortly after the first round of the presidential election, on 16 June, when a cabal of hawks including the Defence Minister, the head of the former KGB and Mr Yeltsin's personal security chief were



Zyuganov: Bid for power at polls could be thwarted

drummed out of the Kremlin on charges of trying to force the postponement of the election. Less than a month before the drama, Mr Yeltsin had raised doubts about his willingness to abide by constitutional procedures when he rejected a law passed by the Communist-dominated parliament that set out the process by which he would hand over power.

er should he lose the election. Many Russian political commentators believe that, despite insisting that the election should take place, Mr Yeltsin never intended to make a graceful exit from office if defeat loomed as a realistic prospect. Moscow has buzzed with rumours of a so-called "Plan B", according to which Mr Yeltsin would have declared a national emergency and stayed in power rather than vacate the Kremlin for Gennady Zyuganov, his Communist challenger.

Inevitably, the impression that the constitution is just a piece of paper to be altered, ignored or scrapped at will has fed through into the attitudes of many prominent Russian politicians. For no one is this more true than Alexander Lebed, the outspoken former general whom Mr Yeltsin put in charge of national security, after Mr Lebed finished third in the election's first round.

Despite his lack of a genuine power base in Mr Yeltsin's obscure Kremlin power structures, Mr Lebed has not disguised his ambition to rule Russia as soon as possible.

He proposed last week that he should be given the post of vice-president, a job which was abolished in 1993 after its then incumbent, Alexander Rutskoi, took part in the armed revolt at the White House. Mr Lebed clearly sees himself as the heir-apparent, constitution or no constitution.

Other influential figures in Mr Yeltsin's entourage are likely to take a different view, especially since Mr Lebed was revealed in the past two weeks that his opinions are much more illiberal than he indicated during his election campaign.

Those who might resist a Lebed bid for power include not only reformists, such as Anatoly Chubais, one of Mr Yeltsin's top campaign strategists, but more centrist politicians with a taste for power and patronage, such as Mr Chernomyrdin.

Last July, when President Yeltsin suffered the first of his two heart attacks in 1995, Mr Lebed was a marginal political figure and Mr Chernomyrdin was the only plausible president-in-waiting. Now Mr Lebed holds centre stage.

If Mr Yeltsin's health continues to decline it is difficult to see how Russia can avoid yet another of its periodic clashes for power in the Kremlin.



Knife-edge vote: Moscow State Circus players casting their ballots on tour in Watford

Photograph: Brian Harris

US nerves shaken by climate of uncertainty

Events have forced a White House rethink, writes Rupert Cornwell

Even if Boris Yeltsin should prevail in yesterday's run-off vote, his manifestly poor health, a gathering economic crisis and the sudden ascent of professed "semi-democrat" Alexander Lebed have left US policy-makers under few illusions that dealings with Russia will be trickier than ever in a Yeltsin second term — should he manage to complete one.

Barely a fortnight ago, the mood here was vastly more assured. Certainly the President led his Communist opponent Gennady Zyuganov by just three points, but the speed with which he co-opted Mr Lebed and evicted several hardliners from the Kremlin inner circle convinced the Clinton administration that the candidate which it had supported from the outset had wrapped matters up and Russia's "democratic" future was assured.

Since then however, that rosy scenario has unravelled. Mr Lebed has put an authoritarian and anti-Semitic streak on ugly display, and the White House has had to watch in embarrassed silence as Mr Yeltsin disappeared for days on end with what was, officially, "a cold".

Visually, the recent authorised images of a slow, stiff-spoken Boris Yeltsin are reminiscent of nothing so much as the Soviet Union of the early 1980s, when a procession of geriatric leaders — Brezhnev, Andropov, Chernenko — made brief, minutely choreographed appearances that raised more questions than they answered. But, however flawed and secretive, the Soviet system was at least broadly predictable. Not so the erratic and capricious Yeltsin regime.

Even a fit Mr Yeltsin would

face mountainous economic problems. His campaign handouts have driven the budget deficit far beyond the targets laid down by the IMF as condition of this spring's \$10bn loan, pushed through largely at US insistence. At the least, economists warn, the consequence will be a new surge in inflation: at worst, a full-blown financial crisis that will scare off Western investment and reinforce anti-market, authoritarian attitudes in the country.

As it is, his health seems more fragile than ever, creating uncertainty over where day-to-day power lies and (assuming he wins) offering still more leeway for Mr Lebed, a figure viewed with growing nervousness and distaste by the US.

One consolation for US policy-makers is Mr Lebed's opposition to the Chechen war, and his readiness to make real concessions to obtain a genuine end to the fighting. But they doubt even a law-and-order hawk like Mr Lebed can control crime and break the power of the Mafia groups who have thrived under Mr Yeltsin.

Mr Lebed is seen as a *de facto* Vice-President, whose ambition for the top job makes it more than likely the two men, both domineering and instinctively authoritarian, will clash. The Lebed/Yeltsin tandem, in other words, is a recipe for instability.

That likelihood, added to growing nationalism and xenophobia across the political spectrum, can only dim prospects for final ratification of arms control treaties. Washington may also find itself under great pressure to press ahead with Nato enlargement far more quickly than it would like.

The 'spy' who made a general eat his words

Moscow (Reuters) — General Alexander Lebed, who has won a reputation for controversial remarks during his short spell in the political limelight, got himself into deep water yesterday when he accused a Spanish journalist of being a spy.

Mr Yeltsin's new security supremo was forced to take back his words to appease the indignant reporter, who had asked him to explain how he would carry out a plan to stop Russian officials buying villas in Spain with embezzled cash. "We'll work something out. Why should I pass all my secrets

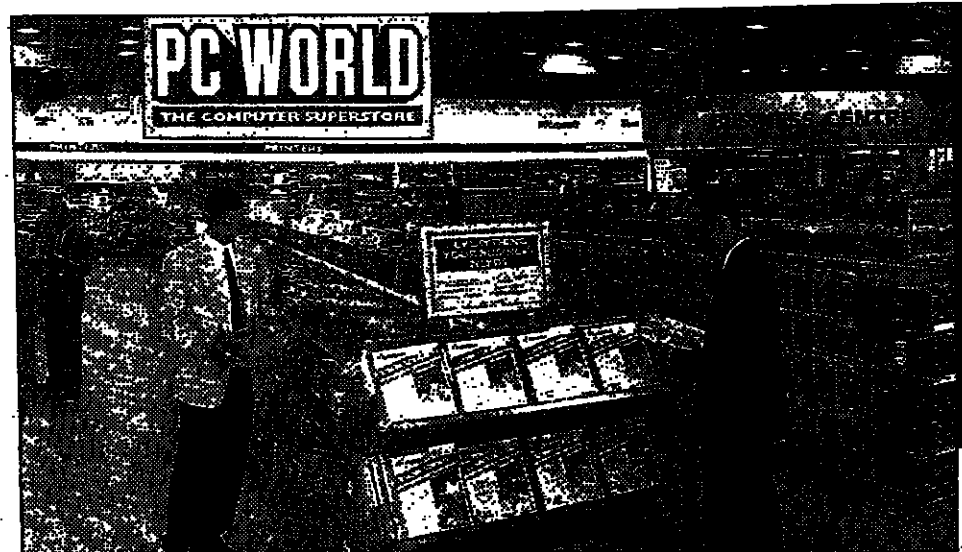
over into the hands of a spy?" said General Lebed.

"What spy?" she asked, taken aback. "You — a Spanish spy," said the general.

"I am not a spy. I'm a journalist. Please take back your words," she said.

It was not clear whether General Lebed, who has a deadpan manner, was joking, but he quickly backed down.

"I take my words back ... I seriously take back my words," said the general, who had just emerged from voting in Russia's presidential election run-off.



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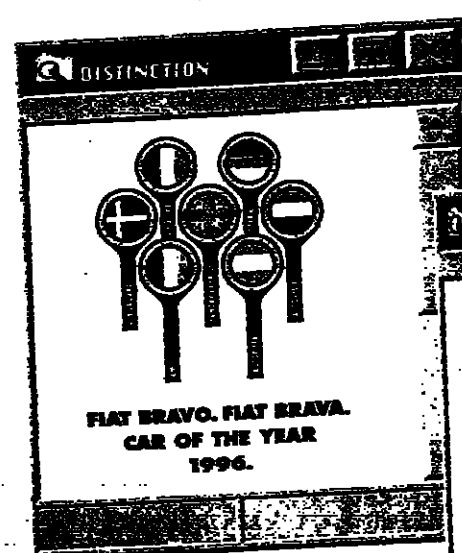
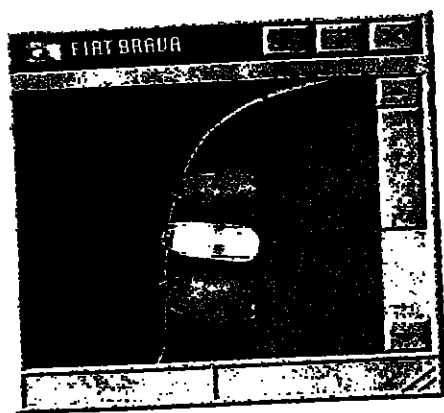
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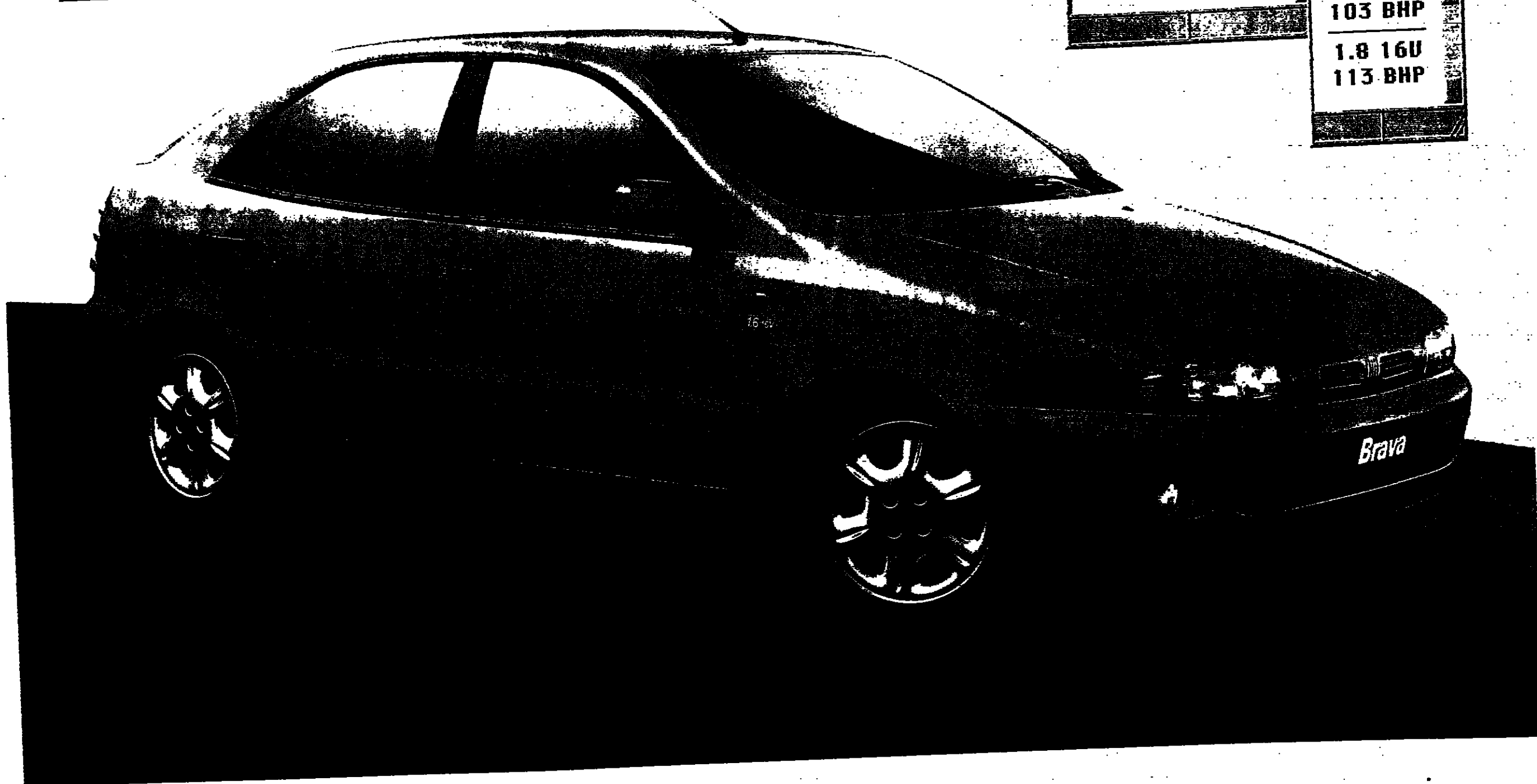
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Bastia bomb: As in Northern Ireland in the 1970s, there is a backlash against violence – but the precedent is not promising

Corsica death spurs women's peace group

MARY DEJEVSKY
Paris

The Corsican nationalist killed by a bomb in the city of Bastia Monday was buried in his native village of Lucciana yesterday evening with full paramilitary honours.

Despite appeals from police that the funeral should be held in accordance with the law, a commando unit from the paramilitary FLNC-Canal Historique fired three shots over the coffin before it was lowered into the grave. Pierre Lorenzi was leader of the movement's political front organisation, Conculta.

The national secretary of Conculta, Charles Pieri, believed to have been the main target of the attack in which 14 other people were hurt, suffered extensive injuries, as did a third member of Conculta. They were leaving the offices of their company, a security firm, when the bomb exploded.

Fifth politicians in Paris still shaken by the force of the attack the first in Corsica's recent history of violence to have injured indiscriminately, the official line was "firmness". A dozen or so known nationalists were detained in Corsica overnight, and the chief of the French national police force, Claude Guéant, was dispatched to Bastia from Paris.

One glimmer of hope has

been provided over the past six months by a women's peace movement, similar in origins and sentiments to the women's peace movement in Ireland and founded by women who have lost – or who fear losing – husbands and sons.

The Manifesto for Life was officially founded in January, and comprises a mixture of native-born Corsicans and women who have settled in the island.

Among the Manifesto's founders was Laetitia Sozzi, aged 30, whose husband Robert, a member of the FLNC-Canal Historique had been murdered after questioning the links between the group and "dirty money" circulating in the building sector in Corsica.

The women say that they "reject the establishment of a system based on terror" and insist that "no one should have cause to fear ... because of the violence of a minority". To the amazement of many who are injured to Corsican violence, their demonstrations regularly attract more than 1,000 people.

More than 48 hours after the attack, however, no group had admitted responsibility for the bomb, and police were enforcing a news blackout on any leads. In the resulting vacuum, all manner of theories circulated. The most popular centred on political, personal or business rivalries. Lorenzi was a business partner of Charles Pieri. The na-

tionalists have split many times over, and have directed as much violence against each other as against French targets.

In Corsica, however, a spokesman for the Movement for Self-Determination, the political front of FLNC-Canal Historique, the main nationalist rival to Conculta, condemned the killing and denied any connection with it. The condemnation seemed to quash one theory, that the car bomb was a revenge attack for the murder 10 months ago of one of the Movement's leaders, Pierre Albertini.

A more sinister theory, advanced by a spokesman for yet another nationalist group, the Accolta Nazionale Corsa, was that none of the nationalists was directly involved and the attack was a staged "provocation" from outside. "Outside" could mean opponents of nationalism in Corsica, or even – though this was not stated openly – inspired by Paris. He said it was "inconceivable" that nationalists could direct such violence against each other.

The horror that marked the first public and political responses to the Bastia bomb had given way by yesterday to a strange mixture of pessimism and perverse optimism. Pessimists regarded the bomb as a harbinger of worse to come. They also predicted a disastrous summer for the island's tourism, its chief source of income.



Rallying for the cause: Mairead Corrigan (left), co-founder of the ill-fated Peace People, before a rally in 1976 in Hyde Park, London. Photograph: PA

Euphoria that turned to acrimony

DAVID MCKITTRICK
Ireland Correspondent

The phenomenon of the women's peace movement which swept Northern Ireland in the 1970s provides an unimpressive precedent for the campaigners now being organised in Corsica.

The Belfast-based Peace People, as they were known, went through a euphoric phase in which they were able to assemble tens of thousands at huge outdoor rallies. Within a

short period, however, the organisation fell apart amidst public and internal acrimony.

The movement survives to this day, but is now a small-scale organisation which, although it supports cross-community initiatives at local level, attracts little national interest.

The organisation emerged from a wave of anger and grief generated by the deaths of three children in a car chase in west Belfast in August 1976. An IRA member, Danny Lennon, who was a close personal friend

of Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams, was driving a getaway car when he was shot by a soldier. The vehicle went out of control, careering on to a pavement and killing three young sisters.

In the aftermath of the incident two local women, Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan, the children's aunt, called on people to reject terrorism. The movement quickly snowballed, attracting international publicity. The two women won the 1976 Nobel Peace Prize and be-

came public figures. But the movement came under criticism from both paramilitary groups and conventional politicians.

As the months passed, the initial hope and fervour of the Peace People ebbed, while the generalised desire for peace became more complicated as it adopted its own positions on contentious issues.

There followed a period of internal arguments and personality clashes, and there was damaging criticism about the uses to which the Nobel Prize

money was put. Betty Williams moved to the United States while Mairead Corrigan continues with her peace work in Belfast.

Years later, when a television company made a programme to mark the anniversary of the movement's foundation, the two women preferred not to appear on screen together.

The Peace People are remembered in Belfast as a transient phenomenon which began with promise but did not deliver peace.

When being 'highso' is a question of one's vintage

Phuket — I have been hoping to become a little more "highso" for some time. Not everybody qualifies, but I think I have ased open the door by sitting beside the Andaman Sea on the Thai island of Phuket sipping a 1945 Beaulieu Vineyard Private Reserve Cabernet Sauvignon.

How do you know if you are highso? Having money helps, of course, say, a BMW is a good sign, appearing in glossy magazines clutching a glass and smiling is also good – and drinking wine is definitely a good sign.

So what is highso? Surely it's obvious; ask a Thai speaker and you will discover it means high society, the correct usage being, for example, "he is so highso" or "I went to a really highso event".

And if it really was a highso event, the chances are that wine would be served. Wine consumption is increasing by leaps and bounds, which is not to be when you consider that Thailand's most distinctive alcoholic beverage, Mekong Whisky, is anything but subtle on the palate.

Wine may be a fad in Thai-

PHUKET DAYS

land, but it is a fad taken up with some fervour by the middle classes, who are being weaned off expensive French Cognac, at times, I kid you not, mixed with Coca-Cola.

One of Thailand's most enthusiastic wine connoisseurs is M.L. "Riddhyrath" Devalak (known as M.L. "Dai" for short), a well known architect of royal lineage. Like many Thais, he has discovered the sensible art of mixing pleasure with pleasure. One of his pleasures is to escape from the less than glamorous atmosphere of Bangkok to Phuket where he established The Boat House hotel, or, to be more accurate, established a fabulous restaurant with an award-winning wine cellar attached to a hotel. With the sort of climate which demands the serving of red wines in ice-filled buckets to prevent overheating, the hotel's wine cellar is kept under severe air conditioning, stabilising the red wines at around 17°C and the whites a few degrees lower.

It was from this cellar that

"The World's Best Cabernet Sauvignon" tasting drew most of its bottles. This was no whimsical event, with wine swirling around the mouth and then expelled into nearby buckets, but a serious, gulp-it-down, test of 14 wines – plus, another six which accompanied an immodest six-course dinner.

For the record, I didn't think much of the 1945 Beaulieu, an American vintage not really designed for consumption in its third decade. However, the 1992 Saint-Hugo (Orlando) was a knockout and the right-hand winner of the blind tasting. M.L. Dai is now looking at the possibility of opening a magnum-only wine bar in Bangkok – a really surprising idea, I think, where there are so many things to do.

But, I wonder, would it qualify as genuinely highso?

Stephen Vines

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international

West Bank jobless eke out living from trash

PATRICK COCKBURN
Jerusalem

Jawad held up a pair of worn plimsolls to show he was having a good day. He had found them in the heaps of rotting rubbish at Azzariya, the main garbage dump for Jerusalem where hundreds of unemployed Palestinians have gathered every day since Israel sealed off the West Bank.

"There used to be just 10 or 20 people who came here," says Adel, 19, dressed in a dirty T-shirt. "Now there are between 500 and a thousand people who come because they have no money to buy food for their children." As each garbage truck disgorged its load, people surged forward in search of food, clothing and scrap metal.

Most of the Palestinians who claw through the rubbish at Azzariya used to work in Israel. Jawad, 19, says: "Before the closure [of the West Bank] I used to work in a supermarket in Tel

Aviv. Now I am here from five in the morning." At one time 174,000 Palestinians from Gaza and the West Bank were working in Israel, mainly in construction and agriculture.

Israel had sealed off the West Bank before, but after two suicide bombs exploded in Jerusalem and Ashkelon on 25 February the West Bank was isolated as never before. Israeli employers were threatened with heavy fines if they employed any West Bank Palestinians. Some 210,000 Rumanians, Thais and Turks have replaced Palestinians on Israeli construction sites.

The Azzariya dump is easy to find. You follow garbage trucks past the outskirts of Jerusalem through the village of Azzariya into an enormous sandy hollow. Even before they stop you are hit by the stench of the rubbish heaps. Beside a cliff face there was a huddle of donkeys waiting to take away anything of value. As each truck stops people rush to grab the choicest items.



On the scrapheap: Palestinians scavenging for a living risk death and injury

A Palestinian manager in charge of the dump, who did not want to give his name, said: "About 1,000 tons of rubbish come here everyday. It is dangerous for people to be standing in the middle of it. There is lots of broken glass and last year a ten-year-old child was crushed

to death by a truck." In half an hour our car was covered in a fine layer of dirt.

It is possible that the people of the Azzariya dump may soon see a small improvement in their lives.

Benjamin Netanyahu, the newly elected Israeli Prime

Minister, is expected to decide today if the closure will be eased. This might ultimately allow 50,000 to 60,000 Palestinian workers to enter Israel. But only workers over 25 will be given permits and most of the people at Azzariya are in their late teens or early twenties.

Not surprisingly nobody at the dump spoke about the Oslo accords. For them the years of the "peace process" have brought economic misery. In the last 12 months per capita income for Palestinians on the West Bank has fallen by 20 per cent. It is not difficult at

Azzariya, watching the young men squabble over a choice garbage bag, to understand why Hamas and Islamic Jihad find it easy to recruit suicide bombers.

Ibrahim, 15, looking pleased that he had found an uneaten roll with some lettuce in it, said

he did not think anything would get better. He said that the 14 members of his family were on the edge of starvation and the dump was their last resort.

Later in the afternoon we were expecting his mother and father to join him in searching through the garbage.

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Hungary to give £19m in atonement for Holocaust

IMRE KARACS
Bonn

Hungary became the first country in Eastern Europe yesterday to atone for its part in the Final Solution by agreeing to compensate survivors of the Holocaust.

Nearly 60 years after the Paris Peace Treaty bound Budapest to offer compensation to victims of Nazism, the government pledged to set up a foundation with capital of 4bn forints (£19m).

"We are satisfied because, given the country's current economic plight, this settlement goes beyond a mere gesture," said Gusztav Zoltai, Director of the Association of Jewish Communities in Hungary. "It will also serve as an example for the other countries in the region which have yet to take similar steps."

Mr Zoltai's organisation will contribute to the fund by selling some of the Jewish property returned by the state under a previous law compensating religious groups. A further sum is to be provided by a branch of the World Jewish Organisation.

This accord brings several years of negotiations almost to their conclusion, said Mr Zoltai. "I say 'almost', because parliament must still approve the package in the autumn."

Passage of the bill in the legislature, where the governing coalition has an overwhelming majority, is virtually assured.

The Hungarian parliament had undertaken a similar commitment in 1946, but did not deliver on its promise: at first the country was bankrupt, then the Communists took over in 1949. Even though - or because - the Communists were led by Jews until 1956, the issue of compensation was swept under the carpet. Token payments from

Germany in the 1950s were distributed - and in many cases misappropriated - by the Communist authorities.

After the fall of the old regime in 1989, the priorities shifted once again. The incoming conservatives were quick to return confiscated property to Christian churches, but Jews were kept waiting. In 1993, Holocaust survivors won a ruling from Hungary's Constitutional Court forcing the government to pay compensation, but still the authorities refused to reach their pockets.

Their tight-fistedness coincided with an upsurge of creative historiography in government circles which attempted to solve Hungary of responsibility for the murder of an estimated 600,000 Jews during the war. The deportations to concentration camps and summer executions of Jews began after the country was occupied by German troops in 1944, but the machinery of oppression was manned mainly by Hungarian fascists. There are estimates to be between 80,000 and 100,000 Jews still living in Hungary.

The compensation package, which the government and Jewish organisations stress is only "partial", is intended to help the most needy. It will supplement the pensions of Jews aged over 70, and descendants of Jews who perished in the death camps will be partially compensated for family properties lost during the war. The deal will, however, prevent Holocaust survivors from pressing their individual property claims with the government.

Schools, hospitals and Jewish charities also will be funded by the foundation, which will be headed by Ronald Lauder, a Hungarian Jew, and son of the cosmetics tycoon Estée Lauder.

Two sides claim victory in South African poll

Durban (AP) — The Zulu nationalist Inkatha Freedom Party won the most votes in last week's local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal province, according to nearly complete results.

The rival African National Congress (ANC) won control of governing councils in the province's largest cities, including Durban. With 44 per cent of the more than 3 million registered voters casting ballots, Inkatha received 44.5 per cent of the vote compared to 33.2 per cent for the ANC.

Both sides claimed victory, with Inkatha saying it had proved itself the strongest party in KwaZulu-Natal while the ANC said it had won administrative control of the province's largest budgets.

In the nation's first all-race election in 1994, Inkatha won just over half the KwaZulu-Natal vote to gain control of the provincial government.

The local elections completed the transformation of South Africa to a democratic government. Most of the rest of the country held their local government voting last November, but political wrangling and violence twice delayed the KwaZulu-Natal elections.

Inkatha won 74 per cent of rural council seats compared to 21 per cent for the ANC, while the ANC won almost 33 per cent of urban council seats just under 19 per cent of Inkatha. In Durban, the ANC won half the city council seats while Inkatha gained just under 8 per cent.

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Colombia fears US strike on drug barons

PHIL DAVISON
Latin America Correspondent

Perhaps too many Colombians have read Tom Clancy's best-selling novel, *Clear and Present Danger*, or have seen the popular film version starring Harrison Ford. But the rumour sweeping Colombia this week was that American troops were planning a surgical strike against Colombia's drug lords.

In the novel, the Americans use a laser-guided air-to-ground missile and clandestine ground forces in an attempt to wipe out the cocaine barons. In the rumour, they use laser-guided weapons and troops on the ground, but do not try to kill the drug lords. Instead, they snatch the leaders of the Cali cartel from Colombian jails and whisk them back to the US for trial.

So strong was the rumour, partly fuelled by a new US anti-narcotics operation in the region - dubbed Operation Laser Strike - that security was stepped up at various prisons. It began last week when the US Attorney-General, Janet Reno, requested the extradition of the three top Cali drug lords currently in jail, ignoring the fact that Colombia's 1991 constitution bars extradition. Colombian President Ernesto Samper's reply? "No way."

This week, the rift devel-

oped into a war of words after a memo from the US ambassador in Bogota, Myles Frechette, was leaked to the *Washington Post*. In it, Mr Frechette suggested keeping Mr Samper "as invisible as possible" and revoking his US visa because of alleged past links with the Cali cartel. The visa of Colombia's ambassador to Mexico, Gustavo de Greiff, a former prosecutor-general, had already been revoked at the weekend as a result of similar suspicions.

Washington pointedly refrained from denying the veracity of the Frechette memo.

Mr Frechette had previously angered his hosts by saying he had been "tailed" by Colombian secret service agents and that embassy phones were bugged.

The Colombian foreign ministry responded angrily to Mr Frechette's memo on Tuesday, faxing a statement to news organisations around the world saying it was "profoundly concerned by the mutual crisis of confidence" with the US, which could "threaten Colombia's democratic stability".

Mr Samper was cleared last month by Congress, the only body which could try him for allegedly accepting millions of dollars of cocaine proceeds for his 1994 election campaign. But Congress is controlled by his ruling Liberal Party and a large

number of its members are themselves under investigation for allegedly taking cocaine proceeds. Polls show most Colombians believe Mr Samper should have been impeached.

Colombia's influential Roman Catholic church weighed in this week, questioning his innocence and describing the country as "morally sick".

Pedro Rubiano, Archbishop of Bogota, became a focal point for criticism of Mr Samper earlier this year. He said the president's claim not to have known that millions of dollars were entering his campaign from the Cali cartel was "like saying an elephant walked through your living room and you never noticed."



Disaster zone: A policeman rescues victims in the flooded city of Guiyang in southern China. Torrential rains and raging floods have killed more than a hundred people, destroyed tens of thousands of homes and swamped huge areas of farmland. Photograph: Reuters

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SIGNIFICANT SHORTS

The world's largest platinum producer, South Africa's Rustenburg Platinum Mines, has dismissed thousands of striking workers who defied a court order to return to work, a company official said yesterday.

The mine owners, Anglo American Platinum Corp Ltd (Amplats), said it had dismissed 3,600 workers yesterday after sacking 13,000 miners out of a total workforce of 28,000 on Monday. The mine, 90 miles north-west of Johannesburg, said it was losing 13.5 million rand (£1.9m) a day as a result of the strike which began on Tuesday last week. *Reuters - Johannesburg*

The leader of eastern Germany's post-Communist is to be grilled by parliament about his alleged links with the Stasi. Gregor Gysi, the Bundestag leader of the Party of Democratic Socialism, is accused of maintaining links with the east German security service for 10 years up until 1989 while he worked as a lawyer defending dissidents. Mr Gysi's deputy, Christa Luft, is also under investigation, and both might have to give up their seats if the accusations are backed up by evidence. *Imre Karacs - Bonn*

A 57-year-old father sentenced to a life term six years ago in the first US court case to involve the use of "repressed memory" was to walk free yesterday. Prosecutors said they would not seek to retry George Franklin, found guilty of murder by a unanimous jury vote in 1990 after his adult daughter claimed to have suddenly remembered his killing of her childhood playmate 20 years before. A US judge overturned Mr Franklin's conviction last year, saying he had not had a fair trial and citing evidence that his daughter, Eileen Franklin-Lipster, 29, could have picked up details of her friend's death from newspaper cuttings. *Tim Connolly - Los Angeles*

An autopsy performed on Margaret Hanningway failed to answer lingering questions about why the model-turned-actress died alone in her beachside apartment. The examination was unremarkable and did not reveal any indication of trauma or foul play, the coroner's office said in a statement on Tuesday. Toxicological tests were ordered and it will be at least two weeks before they are completed, the coroner's office said. *AP - Santa Monica*

Thirty-three people were still seriously ill in hospital yesterday after a Ukrainian train crash which killed 32 people on Tuesday. Altogether 121 people were hurt in the accident. President Leonid Kuchma declared yesterday a day of mourning as flags flew at half-mast in Kiev and other Ukrainian cities. *Reuters - Kiev*

India's federal police said they had charged three foreigners and an Indian with running a child prostitution ring through an orphanage in the seaside tourist haven of Goa. A spokesman said that between 1980 and 1991, the accused were alleged to have procured 27 boys from poor families and used the orphanage in the western state as a front for a prostitution ring. The police said charges were filed last week against an Indian doctor, an Australian, a New Zealander and a Swede. *Reuters - New Delhi*

China has executed 1,000 people in just the first two months of a crime crackdown and Amnesty International said Peking looked set to break its own record this year for carrying out the world's most executions. The human rights group urged China yesterday to halt the wave of what it called "state killing". *Reuters - Peking*

Two Japanese women who want to become men have been told the treatment they seek is medically legitimate, but can't be carried out because Japanese society is not ready for it. A medical ethics committee at Seitama Medical College, west of Tokyo, made national headlines by becoming the first such group to accept sex change as a legitimate medical treatment for people with a permanent desire to change their sex. *AP - Tokyo*

Finnish organisers of an annual Arctic challenge in bare-handed mosquito-killing said a lack of insects had forced them to cancel the event. "Hardly any of the necessary live games equipment (mosquitoes) has been found in the region," organisers of the World Championships in Mosquito Killing, staged in the Lapland village of Pelkosenniemi, said. A spokesman said a cold summer might be to blame. Up to 40 contestants have in the past stripped to the waist in a challenge to squash as many mosquitoes as possible in five minutes. *Reuters - Helsinki*

obituaries/gazette

The Right Rev Ross Hook

In 1939, Ross Hook and Maurice Wood were the redoubtable second-row forwards in the rugby side at Ridley Hall, Cambridge. After ordination, they both went on to be RNVF chaplains, were both decorated on active service and both in due course became diocesan bishops.

Hook remained a robust and energetic figure for the whole of his active ministry. He was a "man's man" and lively warmed to him as a human being who was approachable and tremendous fun. His roots were in Kent where his family had long associations with Romney Marsh. He was an enthusiastic cricketer and was never happier than when watching Kent playing on home ground at Canterbury.

In 1980, Dr Robert Runcie became Archbishop of Canterbury. He soon saw that the rapidly increasing demands coming upon him as Primate, both internationally and nationally, made it imperative that he should not only devote some of his responsibilities on

senior members of the House of Bishops, but also that he should have at Lambeth an experienced bishop in whom those in Whitehall and Parliament would have confidence and with whom the Diocesan Bishops would be happy to consult. He invited Ross Hook, by then Bishop of Bradford, to undertake what was a pioneer appointment.

The fact that the office of Bishop at Lambeth is now an accepted post on the Archbishop's staff is due in no small measure to Hook, who had the grace to relinquish the independence of a diocesan bishop and to serve the Archbishop as his "Chief of Staff" and as an assistant bishop of Canterbury. His soundness of judgment as well as his refusal to be fussed or to appear as overburdened, meant that when he retired from Lambeth it was to everyone's regret.

Ross Hook was the son of a postmaster. He was educated at Christ's Hospital and at Peterhouse, Cambridge. After train-

ing for the ministry he was ordained in 1941 to his only curacy at New Milton in Hampshire. In 1943 he volunteered as an RNVF chaplain and served with the Royal Marines, landing with 43 Commando at Anzio. He was the only RNVF chaplain to win an MC, which he did while serving with the Marines in Yugoslavia.

After the war, he returned to Cambridge as Chaplain at Ridley Hall, where his war experience stood him in good stead with an older generation of students who had embarked on training for ordination after being demobilised. One of his students, an ex-Royal Marine, recalls that Hook, who was responsible for teaching church history, managed to keep one lecture ahead of his lively audience. He had the reputation of being a great leg-puller, but his penetrating and always kindly humour was especially appreciated by those who found it difficult to adjust to the routine of lectures and chapel services after war service.

Three years later, he went to his first living at Chorlton-cum-Hardy in Manchester diocese, before returning south in 1952 to be Rector and Rural Dean of Chelsea and to live in a large gracious rectory with an immense garden by London standards. It was a great inheritance, and catching the spirit of the post-war world Hook established an informal and personal ministry which won him many friends.

In 1961 he left London to return to Kent as a Canon Residentiary of Rochester Cathedral and as director of post-ordination training for the diocese. He had the oversight of nearly 100 curates and he was also on the staff of Rochester Theological College which had been established for the training of older men from industry and the professions, most of whom had little academic background.

These men warmed to Hook's relaxed and friendly approach but soon learned that he had high expectations for

them and little patience with indiscipline or disorder. He was an examining chaplain to the Bishop of Rochester as he was later to the Bishop of Lincoln who, in 1963, nominated him to be the Suffragan Bishop of Grantham.

After only seven years in Lincolnshire, Hook was translated to Bradford. He was quickly at home in the West Riding where his robustness and his forthright approach were much appreciated, especially by those with little interest in ecclesiastical affairs. After he had moved South again, as Runcie's "Chief of Staff", Bradford University conferred an honorary degree upon him.

In 1984, after four years at Lambeth Palace, Hook retired to his beloved Romney Marsh and began to rejoice again in the Kent countryside and in Kent cricket. Sadly, after a few years, he suffered a stroke which eventually led to his moving out of the county.

After the war, he had married Ruth Biddell, who supported

him to the full in all his demanding appointments and in the more restricted years after his retirement and illness. She survives him as do his daughter and his son, known to many television viewers as an expert on pictures through the BBC's *Antiques Roadshow*.

— David Say

Ross Sydney Hook, priest, born 19 February 1917; ordained deacon 1941, priest 1942; MC 1943; Chaplain, Ridley Hall, Cambridge 1946-48; Rector, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester 1948-52; Rector and Rural Dean, Chelsea 1952-61; Chaplain, Chelsea Hospital for Women 1954-61, St Luke's Hospital, Chelsea 1957-61; Residentiary Canon of Rochester and Precentor 1961-65; Bishop Suffragan of Grantham 1965-78; Bishop of Bradford 1972-80; Chief of Staff to Archbishop of Canterbury 1980-84; Assistant Bishop, Diocese of Canterbury 1981-94; married 1948 Ruth Biddell (one son, one daughter); died Bradford, Dorset 26 June 1996.



Hook: chief of staff to Archbishop Runcie Photograph: Hulton Getty

Lord Fraser of Kilmorack

In 1970, when I was about to leave the Conservative Research Department for the *Spectator*, Michael Fraser invited me to lunch. I was suitably flattered, since he was the deputy chairman of the party, and I was a simple desk officer in my department's (then) offices in Old Queen Street. Naturally, therefore, I accepted the invitation.

"Which club, dear boy?" he said. I was a trifle confused by that. Belonging to no club myself, I had rather assumed that we would be eating at that great haunt of Tory grandees, the Carlton. While I hesitated, he decided to help me.

"Between us," he said, "my brother and I belong to 10 clubs. We dine, or lunch, at one or the other together each month. Pick your club." We settled for St Stephen's. When we were enjoying pre-prandial drinks, Fraser looked around with a certain air of satisfaction. "Nice little place, this," he said. "Now, you're a good trencherman. Shall we have two bottles of wine? Yes, we shall."

Best this story suggests the picture of a bibulous rascal, I should mention, immediately, Fraser's method of conducting business. He always carried with him a small traveller's clock. At the outset of a meet-

ing he would set the clock. The moment it pinged, the meeting was over. It did not matter whether he had two people, or a dozen, with him; if you had not made your point within his designated time, you had lost your case.

He was the most awesomely efficient man with whom I have ever worked. And, in effect, he ran the machinery of the Conservative Party for many years. It was said of him, for example, that he used to slip around from Conservative Central Office, in Smith Square, to Old Queen Street to check on the in-trays of departmental officers while they were out to lunch. He is

also renowned for having turned down the applications for jobs at the Research Department by Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean, on the grounds that both men were "Communist agents".

Michael Fraser was an Aberdeen, and carried with him, throughout his life, a good deal of the character of that city of granite. He enjoyed no privileges, for his parents were poor. He volunteered for war service in 1939, and emerged from the conflict as a colonel. He said that his upbringing in Aberdeen Grammar School was more important to the development of his life than was the Army.

In any event, like many other young men in 1946, he found himself without a job. Following native political instincts, he applied to the Conservative Party. His gifts for organisation and diplomacy were quickly recognised, and he rose from a junior job at the Research Department to the deputy chairmanship of the party. All along, he enjoyed the absolute confidence of the leaders of his party, for his discretion was complete, and his silence as to any indiscretions absolute.

John Biffen once suggested that Fraser would make an admirable Secretary to the Cabinet. The idea was put to the man

in 1970, just after the general election. He turned it down immediately. "I serve the party," he said, "not some bloody state." Yet, when I last saw him at a drinks party at Conservative Central Office, and asked him whether he felt at all nostalgic, he replied, "For this dump? Not bloody likely."

with a warm, if sometimes exasperated, glow.

— Patrick Cosgrave

Richard Michael Fraser, party political administrator, born Aberdeen 28 October 1915; MBE (MB) 1945, CBE 1955; KT 1962; Deputy Chairman, Conservative Party Organisation 1964-75; Secretary, Conservative Party's Consultative Committee (Shadlow Cabinet) 1964-70, 1974-75; Deputy Chairman, Conservative Party's Advisory Committee on Policy 1970-75; created 1974 Baron Fraser of Kilmorack; married 1944 Chloë Drummond (one son and one son deceased); died London 1 July 1996.



Fraser: awesomely efficient Photograph: Camera Press

Paul Peter Piech

Some remarkable individuals keep on believing, throughout their lives, that the world could change for the better. The artist and printer Paul Peter Piech was one such man. In 1920, the son of a Ukrainian immigrant looking for a new way of life in America. From their tough example Piech learnt both to work hard and to speak out when it mattered. His books and posters confronted the viewer with the need for global responsibility and co-operation. One piece borrows the words of John Donne, "Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind."

Piech studied at the Cooper Union College of Art, New York. In 1937 he went to work as a graphic artist at Dorland Advertising Agency under Herbert Bayer. During the Second World War he was posted to Cardiff with the United States Eighth Army Air Force. Among his duties, he was called upon to paint images of glamorous blondes on to the front of the aircraft - to match the planes' affectionate female nicknames.

In Wales he met Irene Tomkins, a young nurse and midwife. When asked if she would like to return to New York as a GI bride she replied, "No thanks." So Piech stayed in Britain and they were married in 1947. A GI education grant enabled him to study further at the Chelsea College of Art.

Between 1951 and 1968 Piech worked as an artistic di-

rector for W.S. Crawford's Advertising. In retrospect it may seem an odd choice of profession for a committed political campaigner but what interested Piech, quite apart from the thrill of deadlines to which he could apply his boundless energy, was the chance to communicate to as wide an audience as possible. He made his name in advertising circles with a campaign for W. & T. Avery Ltd, the scales manufacturers of Birmingham. In all his work he showed a gift for designs that compelled the viewer to look hard and disentangle the message.

In 1959 Piech was keen to find a way of disseminating the kind of information that had no place in a profession geared to promoting Supersoft shampoo. To this end he set up his own press, the *Taurus Press*. Over the next decade he accumulated a Gem proofing press and other commercially redundant letterpress printing equipment. In the early years he used metal type to set his texts but he became increasingly attached to his own rough and expressive linocut lettering.

He printed his linocut images alongside the wise words of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King or the crass boasts of Richard Nixon. In 1979 the American Embassy protested at Piech's treatment of the United States flag. He had turned it sideways to illustrate it as prison bars above the caption "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land



Poster by Piech, 1955

of liberty". When, however, he produced a poster of Nixon with the word "Dictator" inscribed above his head, it was purchased by the Library of Congress.



Frontispiece by Piech to De Profundis, 1972

Eric Gill once defined the private press as a press which prints solely what it chooses rather than what its customers demand. The *Taurus Press* exemplified the kind of contribution that a private press can make, to modern society. It never ignored history. It published, for example, the works by William Blake for instance, not to mention *De Profundis: the sayings of Jesus Christ* (1972), but it did not trade on a book-collector's nostalgia for a long-lost and idyllic past. A hilarious book on the horror of car drivers, *Ugly Places of Metal* (1975), was produced with a text by William J. Leahy. This offers no reminders of green and pleasant lands but unsettles the viewer with its urban depictions of traffic jams and road rage.

The University of Salzburg was to take a particular interest in Piech's work and published some of his later books, including a collection of John Gurney's poems, *Coal, a Sonnet Sequence* (1994), with Piech illustrations. This publication marked the closure of Tower Colliery, the last colliery in South Wales.

From 1968 Piech worked freelance as a graphic artist but he also taught numerous art schools including Chelsea, the London College of Printing and Leicester, where he reputedly made the artist Edward Bawden flinch by insisting on referring to him as "Eddy". Piech loved the contact with young

people that teaching brought. Never a recluse, he always made time to stop work and talk, whether to supermarket cashiers or the curious passers-by who peered into his "press room".

Piech did not crave the perfect studio. He was happy to work in garages. In his case, suburban homes in Middlesex, Herefordshire and Wales, he would spend evenings cutting his lettering direct on to the tin, whilst keeping one eye on *Coronation Street*. It was a family joke that Christmas Day ended at 10 in the morning. Once the presents were open Piech went back to his proofs.

His fellow printer and writer Kenneth Hardacre once described the urgency of Piech's output as that of "a man whose need to communicate his faith and his fears was so pressing that it often appeared to be impatient with the very means he had chosen for expressing that need".

In our current climate of *fin de siècle* despair at the state of the world Paul Peter Piech stood out as a man who knew how to turn any anger about man's inhumanity to man into creative work with a disturbing social message.

— Lottie Hoare

Paul Peter Piech, artist and printer, born Brooklyn, New York 11 February 1920; married 1947 Irene Tomkins (one daughter); died Porthcawl, Mid-Glamorgan 31 May 1996.



Piech: an urgent output of creative work with a disturbing social message

Births, Marriages & Deaths

BIRTHS

BEAZLEY-LOW: On 26 June to Sally (née Newport) and her husband, Alexander. Anna Jane, a sister for Alexander.

BRAMLEY: To Steven and Anna, Nathan Guy, a brother for Max and Felix, on 26 June at John Radcliffe Hospital.

Announcements for Gazette BIRTHS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS should be sent in writing to the Gazette Editor, The Independent, 1 Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London E14 5DL, telephoned to 0171-233 2011 (answering-machine 0171-233 2012) or faxed to 0171-233 1010, and are charged at £6.50 a line (VAT extra).

ROYAL ENGAGEMENTS

The Queen holds an investiture at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, and accompanied by The Duke of Edinburgh, gives a private party at the palace. The Duke of Edinburgh, Chancellor, visits the School of Science and Engineering and the Division of Chemistry at the University of Edinburgh. The Princess Royal, Patron, visits the Executive Service Overseas, attends the annual reception at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London SW1; as President, the Princess Royal visits for Carri, attends a meeting of the Committee of Trustees of St Nicholas School, London EC1. The Duke of Gloucester presents the Queen's Award for Export to Purnima Coorlams at the Institute of Civil Engineers, London SW1. The Duchess of Gloucester presents her service awards to staff and volunteers at the London and Danubius NHS Trust, Luton, Bedfordshire, and opens the Disability Resource Centre, Dunstable, Bedfordshire. Princess Alexandra attends a Dinner and Reception given by King Edward VII Hospital, Middlesbrough, on board HMS *Changi* at Portsmouth, Hampshire.

Changing of the Guard

The Household Cavalry Mounted Regiment mounts the Queen's Life Guard at Horse Guards, 11am. In Subaltern's Guard, the Queen's Guard, at Buckingham Palace, 11.30am. Royal Guard at the Coldstream Guards.

Birthdays

Prince Michael of Kent, 54; King Tupaia IV of Tonga, 78; The Duke of Abercorn, Lord-Lieutenant of City of London, 82; Mr René Aronow, Grand Prix driver, 48; Lord Butler, former Chancellor of the Exchequer, 76; Mr Alec Bedser, cricketer, 78; Mr Tony van den Bergh, writer and broadcaster, 80; Dr Roger Berry MP, 48; Mr Richard Clothier, chief executive, Dalgety, 51; Mr Barry Field MP, 50; Mr Alistair Goodlad MP, Parliamentary Secretary, HM Treasury and Government Chief Whip, 53; Lord Hankey, former diplomat, 91; Mr Roy Henderson, baritone, 97; Mr David Jensen, television presenter, 46; Miss Gina Lollobrigida, actress, 69; The Hon Francis Mande, former Government Minister, 43; Sir George Newman, High Court judge, 55; Sir Paul Scoon, former Governor-General of Grenada, 61; Miss Pam Shriver, tennis player, 34; Mr Neil Simon, playwright, 69; Professor Sir Michael Stoker, former President, Clare Hall, Cambridge, 78; Mr Colin Welland, actor and playwright, 62; Lord Wyatt of Wexford, chairman, Horserace Totalisator Board, 78.

Anniversaries

Births: Jean-Pierre Blanchard, balloonist, 1733; Nathaniel Hawthorne, author, 1804; Giuseppe Garibaldi, Italian leader, 1807; Dr Thomas John Barnardo, philanthropist, 1845; Francis Montague (Frank) Holl, portrait painter, 1845; Walter Greaves, painter, 1846; James Anthony Bailey, circus proprietor, 1847; Joseph Penzell, etcher and author, 1860; Hugo Winckler, Assyriologist, 1863; John Calvin Coolidge, 30th US President, 1872; Louis Burt Mayer,

Hollywood mogul, 1885; Gertrude Lawrence (Gertrude Alexandra Dagnan Lawrence Klassen), actress, 1898; Daniel Louis Armstrong, jazz pianist and singer, 1900; Lionel Trilling, author and educationist, 1905. Deaths: Beaudouin di Poppo (Giovanni Cimabue), painter, 1300; Ortelius (Abraham Oortel), cartographer, 1598; William Byrd, organist and composer, 1633; Samuel Richardson, novelist, 1761; Richard Cosway, miniature painter, 1821; John Adams, second US President, 1826; Thomas Jefferson, third US President, 1826; James Monroe, fifth US President, 1831; Viscountie Francois-René de Chateaubriand, politician and writer, 1848; Marie Curie (Maria Sklodowska), chemist, 1934; Suzanne Lenglen, tennis player, 1938; Louis Wain, illustrator of cats, 1939; Wladyslaw Sikorski, prime minister of Poland, in an air crash, 1943; Bernard Cyril, first Baron Freyberg, Governor-General of New Zealand, 1963. On this day: Saladin defeated the Crusaders at the Battle of Hattin, 1187; the Boreas Parliament began sitting, 1633; the American Declaration of Independence was adopted, 1776; the US Military Academy was opened at West Point with 10 cadets, 1802; work on the Erie Canal began, 1817; the first Cunard steamship, the *Britannia*, sailed from Liverpool to Halifax and Boston, 1840; Karl Heinrich Marx and Friedrich Engels published the Communist Manifesto, 1848; the Statue of Liberty was presented by the people of France to the US, 1883; the construction of the Panama Canal began, 1904; Hanna Reitsch made the first successful flight in a helicopter, Germany, 1937; the Republic of the Philippines was established, 1946. Today is Independ-

ence Day in the United States of America and the Feast Day of St Andrew of Crete, St Barbara of Blagovest, St Elizabeth of Portugal, St Odo of Canterbury, St Ulric of Augsburg and The Martyrs of Dorchester.

Lectures

National Gallery: Alexander Sturge, Summer: Loving (I); Niccolò dell'Abbate, *The Death of Eurycleia*, 1pm. Victoria and Albert Museum: Martin Harrison, "William Morris: stained glass and church decoration", 2.30pm. Tate Gallery: Clement Page, "Eduardo Paolozzi", 1pm. British Museum: Susan Woodford, "The Sculptures of the Parthenon", 1.15pm.

Dinners

Foreign and Commonwealth Office: Mr Jeremy Hanley MP, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, hosted a dinner yesterday evening at Lancaster House, London SW1, in honour of Mr Amre Moussa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

Navy Board

Admiral Sir Jack Stater, the First Sea Lord, yesterday evening presided at the Trinity Term Dinner of the Navy Board at Admiralty House, London SW1. Among those present were: Admiral Sir Peter Abbott; Rear-Admiral Jeremy Blackman; Sir Christopher Blunt; Admiral Sir Michael Boyce; Professor Sir John Copley; Sir Paul Condon; Sir Richard Evans; Lt-Gen Sir John Foy; Vice-Admiral Sir Boby Perry; Mr Eddie George; Sir David Lloyd; Mr Roger Jodrell; Mr Henry Lambert; Mr Richard Mestrum; Sir Ralph Robins; Rear-Admiral Fred Scourse; The New France on Wednesday.

No damages for breach of European law

LAW REPORT

4 July 1996

Regina v Secretary of State for the Home Department, ex parte Gallagher; Court of Appeal (Sir Thomas Bingham, Master of the Rolls, Lord Justice Hirst, Lord Justice Aldous) 10 June 1996

The making of an exclusion order against a person suspected of being concerned in acts of terrorism without first allowing him to make representations objecting to the order and to be interviewed by a person nominated by the Home Secretary was a breach of European Community law but it was not a sufficiently serious breach to justify a claim for damages.

The Court of Appeal refused an application by John Gallagher for leave to amend his application for judicial review against the Home Secretary in order to add a claim for damages.

The application followed a decision in *Mr Gallagher's favour by the European Court of Justice*, on 30 November 1995, that in passing the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1989 the UK failed to give effect to Council Directive 64/221/EEC with the result that he was, as he claimed, unlawfully excluded from the UK.

Robyn Allen QC, Peter Duffy and Tim Eicke (Birmingham & Pals) for the applicant; David Pannick QC and Mark Shaw (Treasury Solicitor) for the respondent.

Sir Thomas Bingham MR said that in 1983 Mr Gallagher had been sentenced in the Republic of Ireland to three years' imprisonment for possession of two rifles for unlawful purposes. After his release, he came to the UK to work. On 25 September 1991 he was arrested and detained at Paddington Green police station under section 14 of the 1989 Act. On 27 September the Home Secretary made an exclusion order against him under section 7 and Schedule 2 of the Act.

Mr Gallagher was informed of his right to make written representations to the Home Secretary setting out any objections to the order and to request a personal interview with a person nominated by the Home Secretary, but for pressing personal reasons Mr Gallagher consented to his removal and was flown to Ireland the next day.

request, Mr Gallagher and his solicitors attended at the British Embassy in Dublin and made oral representations to a person nominated by the Home Secretary. On 10 March 1992, the Home Office informed Mr Gallagher that the Home Secretary had considered his representations and the report of the nominated person but had decided not to revoke the exclusion order.

Mr Gallagher applied for judicial review. The matter was referred to the European Court which ruled that, save in cases of urgency, the making of an exclusion order should follow, and not precede, the making of representations by, and the interviewing of, a person at risk of exclusion.

It was a cardinal principle of Community law that the laws of member states should provide effective and adequate redress for violations of Community law by member states where these resulted in infringement of specific individual rights conferred by Community law.

The law of the Community on this subject was still at a formative stage but it appeared that the present case was plainly one in which a member state had incorrectly transposed a Community directive into national law and therefore that, in accordance with the European Court's rulings in *Ex parte Factortame* (No 4) [1996] 2 WLR 506 and *Ex parte British Telecom* (Case C-392/93) (unreported, 26 March 1996), the applicant had to show, *inter alia*, that the UK's violation of Community law was "sufficiently serious" to warrant reparation.

Mr Gallagher claimed that he had been deprived of procedural safeguards which, had they been observed, might have given him a better chance of securing a favourable result. But there was nothing to suggest that the Home Secretary's decision would have been any different had he received Mr Gallagher's representations and the interviewer's report before making the exclusion order. It was clear that after receiving them, he had considered the case *de novo*, and that even if the correct procedure would have been followed the outcome would have been the same.

— Paul Magrath, Barrister

A weak slogan that reveals the admen's limits

One million pounds for four words? Surely not. But yes, that's how much the bright and brilliant down at Conservative Central Office have seen fit to spend on their new advertising slogan, "New Labour, New Dangers".

Given the enormity of the task facing the Conservatives, and the importance to them of turning around public opinion, it may seem like money well spent. (Though if they'd asked around Fleet Street, there are quite a few who would have thought up something similar on a wet afternoon for rather less than that.) But the Tories' bigger problem is the assumption that political problems can be sorted out by calling the ad-men - that a slogan can deal with a crisis of confidence.

"Labour isn't working," the Conservatives' slogan in 1979, was a breakthrough for Saatchi and Saatchi and one of the all-time memorable campaigns. "Labour's tax bombshell" had the country talking in 1992. But they were both based on strong perceptions generally present already - public distaste for the winter of discontent and serious unease about Labour's shadow budget. They were examples of a basic truth about advertising: that it can exaggerate and amplify something that is already there, but it cannot create a desire or demand out of nothing.

Which brings us to the new slogan. There are many things one could say

about New Labour in a partisan Tory spirit, which are at least debatable. A Conservative critic could say that it is bland, or pitiless, or lacking in intellectual self-confidence; that it is woolly, or a mimicry of Toryism; that New Labour has no central purpose; that some of its proposed reforms of the country are ill-thought-out and will come apart at the stitches. Whether or not one agreed with those criticisms, they are at least worth talking about. But of all the possible criticisms of Tony Blair, the idea that he is dangerous, a wild radical threat to our way of life, is among the least persuasive on offer. Quite why the Conservatives have chosen this line of attack is a mystery.

At any rate, here we are back talking about strategies. Activists and ideological purists wince at this obsessive interest among the metropolitan professionals in the flim of politics, rather than the meat. How often have we heard Labour traditionalists moaning about their party's reverence for opinion polls, focus groups and advertising gurus? Moral content, direction and good old policies are quickly drowned out in the search for a "message" to woo those crucial voters.

But all the political parties are actually doing with their focus groups and polls is listening to voters. If having heard what voters are saying, they adapt their policies and their slogans accordingly, then democracy is not

damaged. Competition among car manufacturers generates new cars that better reflect drivers' demands and desires. If political parties adapt in the same way to win votes, the result should be a more responsive political framework in which the more voters get something they want.

Nor does this responsive approach necessarily create reactive political parties. As any good business leader knows, the real money pours in when you can anticipate, lead and define a new market. Margaret Thatcher did it. Tony Blair seems to be doing it too. There is no reason either why moral



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the last 10 years has been slow, steady going. In 1992, no matter what the then shadow chancellor, John Smith, said about fiscal prudence, voters were easily convinced that most Labour MPs still wanted to spend, spend, spend, and tax, tax, tax. Four years later, with not a spending commitment in sight, the message on fiscal prudence is far more plausible.

Tony Blair's greatest achievement in the last few years has been to use internal party debates such as that over Clause 4 to demonstrate to voters quite how "new" Labour now is. Judging from their new slogan, the Conservatives believe him. Or at least they think voters believe him, which is why they have changed tack themselves.

But a good slogan and a great advertising campaign are worthless if the thinking behind them is not convincing. In the end voters will only accept a neat slogan, or a short sound bite, if it resonates with their underlying perceptions about what is going on.

Hence the Conservatives failure to land a punch on Tony Blair so far. Previous claims that, in power, Blair would be pushed aside by the mad old socialists were simply not plausible; there were too few of them and they were not mad enough. "Yes it hurt, yes it worked" was only a little more persuasive. We know that Ken Clarke's tax increases hurt, but we are not convinced they are working. Even if the

economy is looking up, we are not inclined to see the tax rises as the cause.

It is not impossible that the Conservatives, casting around for a strategy to hurt New Labour, will come up with a killer slogan eventually. They and their advertising men are very tough, very professional. But as they reflect upon new slogans and campaign themes both parties need to beware. The marketisation of politics is all very well, so long as politicians remember what sophisticated shoppers voters really are.

Making a racket at Wimbledon

There is something wrong with us. We freely confess it. When Cliff Richard led the spontaneous sing-song at a rain-drenched Wimbledon, this newspaper collectively cringed. Our huge tower at Canary Wharf visibly winced. Why was this? There is nothing more English than a good old sing-song, everybody jolly joining in, while the rain beats down. The trouble is, we fear, that it was so buttock-clenchingly naff.

For that is how the rest of the world too often sees us: a nation of cheery losers, belting out nostalgic songs in a downpour. Personally speaking, we'd much prefer a few ruthless tennis players, smashing their way into the semis.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Standards of safety for airlines

Sir: Christian Wolmar is correct that the standards of "start-up" airlines such as Easyjet are enforced by the Civil Aviation Authority ("Safety worry as 'no-frill' airlines take off in UK", 1 July). However, his claim that there are no "flags of convenience" in the airline industry is far from the case.

The December 1994 crash near Coventry airport was that of an Algerian registered aircraft chartered by a UK company. The Air Accident Investigation Branch subsequently identified the use of an overworked crew as a contributory factor. Additionally, the crash near the Dominican Republic last February was that of an aircraft chartered by a Dominican carrier, from a Turkish airline, bound for Germany.

In both cases the aircraft were operated outside the country of registration. The rules of the International Civil Aviation Organisation state that the host country cannot investigate safety standards as the country of registry has promised to enforce the accepted minimum standards, under its flag. Indeed the EU possesses less powers to enforce safety standards on to external airlines than it does on to shipping.

A solution currently being proposed is an EU "black list" of states failing to adhere to pre-determined standards. Such a list has been adopted by the US Federal Aviation Administration. The FAA, however, did not apply the same rigorous safety standards to its internal airlines as it applied externally. If ValuJet had been from outside the US, its flights would have been halted long ago because of its dreadful safety record before the Florida air disaster.

The FAA, like the CAA, was responsible for promoting the airline industry as well as regulating its safety. In a regularised market this may be possible. In a liberalised market (as the US became in the Eighties and as the EU is becoming) the two tasks may well be incompatible.

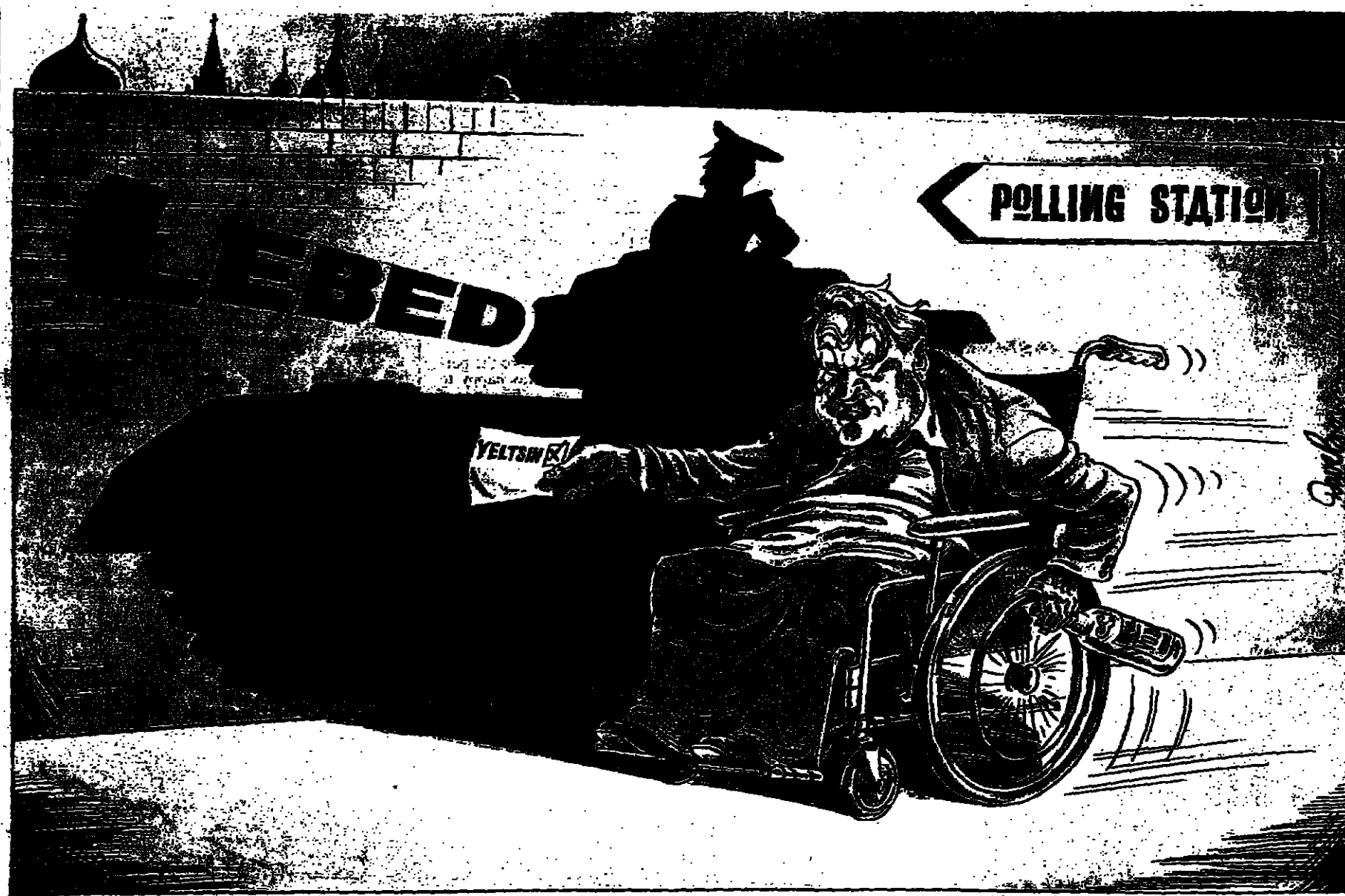
Providing the proposed EU powers rigorously enforce safety standards on both EU and non-EU airlines, passengers will have less cause for concern about airlines that they fly on, regardless of the price they paid.

DINOS KYROU
Department of
International Relations
University of Aberdeen

Sir: Regarding Christian Wolmar's article, not only is it nonsense to suggest that "no frills" airlines compromise on safety, it is also an insult to pilots, maintenance organisations and all the many extremely experienced professionals involved in the running of an airline.

Safety is of paramount importance at any airline - big, small, independent, state-owned, high yield or low yield. Any accident is one too many, but it is worth noting that the short-haul airlines in Europe and the US, boast a safety record equal or better than that of the established, major airlines.

At our airline we fly modern British Aerospace 146s, aircraft that are younger than many of the major airlines' fleets. Indeed, at Debonair our aircraft receive more attention than our passengers.



Furthermore, the BAe 146 has an excellent safety record.

"No frills" essentially means that passengers go without alcoholic drinks and fancy meals. Passengers compromise this for a low fare. They certainly do not compromise their safety. Fortunately, we can count on the millions and millions of passengers who fly each year when it comes to determining how safe it is to fly.

FRANCO MANCASSOLA
Chairman and Chief Executive
Debonair Airways
Luton, Bedfordshire

Britain can still show the way

Sir: Your leading article ("After empire, we badly need a new refrain", 29 June) served the important function of provoking thought, and the answer to your conundrum is, I think, rather simple. Britain does have a new role, and that is as an example of what can be done; a decoloniser that remains closely linked as an equal with virtually all its former colonies in an organisation that, it should be noted, a number of non-colonies are eager to join; and a "linguistically challenged" country whose native tongue is the only truly global language and whose overseas broadcasting service is probably the most trusted of all such agencies. The list could go on to include such successful "exports" as privatisation and many others.

There are, of course, concomitant responsibilities, which might perhaps be summed up as "being there when needed", whether that is supporting the weak

through Britain's permanent membership of the UN Security Council, or helping to end a war in the Balkans by contributing a substantial part of our armed forces, or protecting small countries from predatory neighbours, or (lastly and typically) fighting for a better deal for the most indebted countries through our membership of G7.

We know that Britain is not perfect, externally or internally, but because we have something to offer, it is our duty to offer it. BRIAN H GILL
London SE8

Riotous art

Sir: Colin Tweedy of the Association of Business Sponsorship of the Arts is right to value the ways in which the arts enrich our lives but his work will fail until the arts do inspire us "to riot in Trafalgar Square".

For the arts to earn respect they must be feared: in its day Verdi's *Nabucco*, currently at Covent Garden, was recognised as an expose of political repression; as recently as the Sixties Euripides' version of *Electra* caused riots in Paris. Where are the works to inspire us now? Government funding of the arts is diminished to stifle dissenting voices, but the arts will not generate support and funding until they find a way to connect with our real concerns. Only then will the arts shed the elitist tag. PAUL ARROWSMITH
London W9

Legislation for BT regulation

Sir: Your Business comment "BT needs to be held in check" (28 June) underestimates the issues surrounding the anti-competitive powers being sought by Ofcom in its current review of telecommunications regulation.

Contrary to your comment, BT of course accepts that Ofcom has a role to play to ensure that telecom operators, including BT, trade fairly. All we are asking is that the powers to curb anti-competitive behaviour should be in a proper legal framework which does not enable Ofcom to invent what is anti-competitive and which allows for a right of appeal.

Without that safeguard, as you concede, there is otherwise no protection against such powers being exercised in an "arbitrary or oppressive fashion".

As you correctly report, the tone of most reasoned comment on the issue has been that the regulator is going too far in asking for absolute powers. It is, in our view, in no one's interests for the regulator to act as prosecutor, judge, and jury, or for players in the industry to be denied the right of appeal on the merits of cases that could have an enormous impact on customers, shareholders, employees and competitors.

As you concede, there is no protection against such powers being exercised in an "arbitrary or oppressive fashion". If the Director-General is to take on the quasi-judicial function of

determining what is anti-competitive, his determinations should be susceptible of appeal in the same way as those of every other judicial and quasi-judicial body in this country.

You incorrectly assert that "there are already enough channels of appeal open to BT", specifically the Monopolies and Mergers Commission (MMC) and the courts. If these new proposals were accepted, reference to the MMC would no longer be available to BT. Judicial review is concerned only with the narrow legalities of a decision, it is not an appeal against a mistake or a misjudgement.

The regulator already has substantial powers to take action against anti-competitive behaviour, through BT's existing licence and fair trading law. The current regime is allegedly slow and cumbersome, BT has offered Ofcom a "cease and desist" solution, under which Ofcom could instruct BT to suspend a practice with immediate effect, pending a full investigation. Ofcom has rejected this.

In fact, both BT and Ofcom are in agreement on the optimum solution, which is for the Government to legislate to prohibit anti-competitive behaviour. This would, on the one hand, allow a right of appeal on the merits, and, on the other, make those who behaved anti-competitively pay fines and damages. COLIN R GREEN
Secretary and
Chief Legal Adviser
BT
London EC1

Internet crèche

Sir: Having expended the time and trouble necessary to connect her home to the vast sea of information that is the Internet, Emma Haughton and other parents must accept the responsibility of regulating what comes through that connection (Section Two: "Is it safe to let our children play in cyberspace?" 1 July).

The Internet is a powerful tool for the worldwide communication of information, not a hi-tech crèche for yuppie parents. Why should all its users be expected to render their material suitable for six-year-olds?

Ms Haughton would not let her children use a power drill or a nail gun unsupervised; she should regard her office computer in the same light. In the last resort she can always pull the plug to the telephone. It is quite unreasonable for the Internet to be hamstrung by legislation such as the US Communications Decency Act, which could send people to prison for using words regularly printed in the *Independent*, just to provide Ms Haughton with "peace and quiet of an evening". ANDREW LEECH
Norwich, Norfolk

Pay and stay

Sir: The director of the Natural History Museum is wrong to argue that overcrowding is necessarily due to increased attendance (Letters, 29 June). When entry was free, many people dropped in frequently for a few minutes. After paying, visitors are likely to stay longer and so change a trickle into a throng. TH HUGHES-DAVIES
Breamore, Hampshire

Subversion of the rule of law

Sir: The Lord Chancellor's plans for reform of the legal aid system will, as you infer (3 July), lead to the poor and to the disadvantaged having to pay more for their lawyers. It will also have the inevitable practical effect of restricting access to the courts.

There is, though, a deeper danger. Points of important general principle, such as those engaged in the recent community care case involving the right of disabled persons to services, may never be litigated because of the ever present risk of having to pay the other side's costs if unsuccessful. In that way the rule of law becomes slowly subverted. Cash-strapped authorities are, as a result, more likely to make cynical and unlawful decisions knowing that judicial redress is a receding threat.

At a certain level, restriction of access to a court is, of course, a breach of Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights. But for a Government apparently determined never to incorporate the Convention into domestic law, this potential hazard is presumably no more than a minuscule consideration at the present stage. RICHARD GORDON, QC
London, WC2

Choice in Northern Ireland

Sir: There is reason to hope that parallel British and Irish administrations in Northern Ireland might work better than parallel British and French rule in the New Hebrides (Letters: "Parallel systems in Vanuatu", 24 June and "Bizarre system of colonial rule", 27 June).

Where the population of Vanuatu could say "a curse on both your houses" to their colonial rulers, the inhabitants of Northern Ireland all recognise the legitimacy of either the British or the Irish state. Giving each individual in Northern Ireland the opportunity to be subject to the laws and administration of the state of their choice would not, therefore, be a colonial imposition.

Instead it would provide a democratic method of resolving the conflict through allowing the majority and minority communities to agree to differ, rather than resorting to a majority vote that might simply perpetuate the conflict.

Dr PETER HAYES
Lecturer in Politics
University of Sunderland
Thornhill Park,
Sunderland

Churches of communion

Sir: What is all this fuss about Tony Blair receiving Communion in a Roman Catholic Church (report, 2 July)?

I have not only received Holy Communion in Roman Catholic churches several times, but I have frequently administered the Sacrament to Roman Catholics in Anglican churches and, what is more, have co-celebrated the Eucharist with Roman Catholic priests. They have done so with me too, by definition. Given the opportunities, I shall gratefully continue in this way. The Rev BEN HOPKINSON
Stanton,
Middlebrough

analysis

Slickers and slackers

Some MPs are workers, while some are shirkers. Yet they are all in line for a £9,000 pay rise. It's time for our representatives' salaries to be performance-related, argues **Anthony Bevin**

In a passageway deep in the bowels of the Palace of Westminster, there is a noticeboard for the Parliamentary Works Directorate: the backroom staff who keep the physical fabric of the Commons in good working order. By the side of two card-swipe machines on which staff clock in and out each day, the board sports a photocopy of the printed words of an 18th-century essayist, Sir Richard Steele: "Every man is the maker of his own fortune."

Scrawled alongside in felt-tip are the words, "No more overtime," and the sarcastic conclusion: "Morale is sky-high."

Today, the Prime Minister will publish the much-trailed report of the Senior Salaries Review Body and its recommendation that MPs should award themselves a 26 per cent pay rise of £9,000 a year.

The difference between the MPs and the constituents they represent could not be more sweetly illustrated. Next week, MPs, unlike the Commons staff who are losing out on overtime, will be the makers of their own fortune: voting themselves a pay rise that hardly serves as a public example of the Government's demands for restraint.

MPs are not paid overtime, and they do not have to clock in and out each day. But what they actually do for their £34,085 pay is between themselves, their whips, and their maker.

As for putting themselves about in their constituencies, one recent poll suggested that 90 per cent of voters could not even name their MPs, never mind keep track of how hard they worked.

The pity is that some MPs are undoubtedly flogging their guts out, working long hours in recognition of the privilege of their democratic role. Some of them are so sick and efficient that they make a breathtaking contribution to the Chamber, the committee corridor, party

groups, constituencies – and spare the time for outside work on the side. But there are others who swing the lead and take the taxpayer, the voter, and Parliament for a ride. The problem is that today's pay rise recommendation will not distinguish between the slick and the slack.

Those MPs who spend much of their time outside Parliament, earning small fortunes in company boardrooms; those MPs who spend their time in the bars rather than the Chamber, committee rooms, or even the library; those MPs who swan off around the world on free trips hidden under legitimate auspices that do not need to be registered – none of them

There are Members who don't take the money and run, they just take the money

will be distinguished from the workhorses who try to make the Commons perform its proper function.

One such dedicated workhorse is Quentin Davies, the Tory MP for Stamford and Spalding. He is a City slicker in both appearance and background: first class graduate of Cambridge and Harvard, former diplomat, ex-director of Morgan Grenfell and Dewe Rogerson International.

In the last full parliamentary year, Mr Davies attended a record 111 sessions of various standing and select committees; vetting legislation and monitoring the activity of Government departments. For good measure, he also shows that it is possible to provide a complete parliamentary ser-

vice – including the occasional revolt against the Government, and a resolute Conservative defence of the European Union and One Nation Toryism – and maintain commercial links with the business world.

In the Register of Members' Interests, he includes service as an adviser to NatWest Securities, for which he declares payment of between £20,000 and £25,000, and a parliamentary consultancy with the Chartered Institute of Taxation, for which he gets between £10,000 and £15,000. Nevertheless, in terms of his parliamentary effort, Mr Davies is worth every last penny of his £34,085 pay, and he is not alone.

The men and women who lead the Commons select committees that shadow each Government department, and the people who chair the standing committees which give line-by-line examination of all Bills, clearly deserve their money. That is also the case with other MPs, Labour and Tory, who do not shirk the unglamorous but vital committee work. In the last session of Parliament, 31 Bills were examined in 209 standing committee meetings.

The slackers are in a minority, but a strong minority. There are also some MPs, particularly former cabinet ministers, who deem themselves far too grand to serve on standing committees; others just do not put their names forward. They don't take the money and run, they just take it.

The House of Commons is a club, not a factory. While parliamentary staff clock on and off, MPs come and go as they please, subject only to the disciplines that may or may not be applied by the whips.

Certainly, as the *Daily Mail* discovered to its cost in 1978 when it had to settle, it is not possible to allege that MPs are absent from the House just because they are not attending committees. If MPs are put on a committee and are then



absent, that can be proved because attendance is logged and recorded. If they do not belong to committees in the first place, absenteeism is impossible to prove.

Nevertheless, it is possible to say that MPs are silent or speechless in the Chamber of the House. Because *Hansard* records can prove such a statement one way or the other, expensive libel actions can be avoided.

On that basis, there was a report in 1983 that 10 MPs had left the Commons speechless, having "failed to record one spoken word in the Chamber of the House of Commons in the last session of Parliament."

Equally, it is a fact that Jack Aspinwall, the Conservative MP for Wansdyke, is not recorded as having spoken one word in the Chamber of the Commons for a full parliamentary year, from 27 April 1992 to 5 November 1993, according to *Hansard* indices.

Mr Aspinwall, sadly, is a sick man and has been ill for some years. He is said to figure on all Conservative sick lists, as does Sir Julian Critchley, who has a *Hansard* record of Commons

Chamber silence for the whole of 1993. In the last year for which full returns are available, 1994-95, neither Mr Aspinwall nor Sir Julian are recorded as having served on any standing or select committee of the House of Commons.

According to the best parliamentary traditions, they are both Honourable Gentlemen and it can therefore be expected that they are delivering a full and dedicated service to their constituents.

But undoubtedly there are other MPs who do not give unreservedly to their constituents, and are not on any sick list. There are slackers as well as slickers in the House.

One senior Labour MP said yesterday that he knew of "stars" who delegated responsibility for constituency surgeries – where constituents seek MPs' advice and assistance – to local councillors.

When, or if, MPs go back to their constituencies, there is no way of knowing what service they provide. Nor is there any way of knowing whether they are driving all the way back to far-flung seats at a fixed expense-rate of 74.1p per mile.

It is known for example, that some MPs drive to the far North and back, "earning" £500 or more for the trip. Receipts are not required.

Who knows what MPs will be

If there was a rate matching supply and demand, MPs should consider a pay cut

doing during their 11-week summer break from Westminster later this month? Who knows, following the introduction of, in effect, a three-day working week at Westminster, what they are doing with the rest of their time? MPs now are only required to attend the House from Mondays to Wednesdays, with few full-scale votes on Thursdays and the House often not sitting on Fridays.

MPs say they do go back to their constituencies, and, in the

traditions of the House, they are all Honourable Members. But who really knows?

The question that is now to be posed is: How should they be paid? Should the slicker, Mr Davies, be given the same pay as the slacker, who has to remain anonymous because of the libel laws?

What happens if we double, even treble, MPs' pay? Do we then increase their calibre twofold, threefold? How can we possibly guarantee that the quality of MPs would rise to match their emoluments, when MPs are effectively chosen not by the electorate, but by party selection committees?

Is it not possible to argue that those who are genuinely dedicated to public service should not need lavish pay and perks to go into the Commons? To which MPs might reply that they would be happy if they were paid as well as the political editor of the *Independent* newspaper.

When such questions were posed in the past, Enoch Powell used to ask whether there was any shortage of contenders for selection as candidates. Of course there is not. If there was

a market rate, matching supply and demand, perhaps MPs should consider a pay cut.

There can be no greater indictment of the quality of the Commons than the two recent reports, from the European Legislation Committee and the Procedure Committee, showing how laws are now being passed unseen and undebated by Parliament. What happened to the great role of scrutiny MPs boast about?

It is no exaggeration to say that those two select committees represent the last defences of a beleaguered democracy.

Yet in the last session of Parliament, the recorded absentee rate from the European Legislation Committee was 38.3 per cent; for the Procedure Committee it was 35.4 per cent.

Perhaps the absent watchdogs should be put on the performance-related pay that Parliament has sanctioned for the rest of the public sector. For the moment, with few barks and little bite, some of them are not remotely worth the money they get, never mind a £9,000 pay rise.

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SO GET OUT THERE AND SNAP THE WINNER!

Stuck in a traffic jam? Try this quiz ...

Well, would you be able to pass a written driving test? If, after years of driving experience, you were suddenly sat down to take an exam paper, how would you do? Pretty well, you think? Here's your chance to find out! Just sit down and take this specially designed driving test paper (specially designed for people who think they know it all).

1. When you see the slogan "Don't Drink and Drive", do you take this to mean:

a) You shouldn't drink after you have had too much to drink;

b) You shouldn't drink and drive at the same time, as the bottle may get in the way of the steering wheel;

c) You should stick to drugs if you are driving;

but the car doesn't move, should you:

a) Wait;

b) Hoot angrily;

c) Drive repeatedly into him from behind until he gets going;

3. If you hoot angrily at a man in front of you who won't go even though the lights have turned green, and this very big man gets out of the car in front of you and comes walking round to your driver's side looking very angry indeed, should you:

a) Lock the doors and windows;

b) Lock the doors and windows and dial 999 on your mobile phone;

c) Laugh and point at your passenger and then at the horn and then shrug, as if to say, "My friend here learnt over and hooted at you - nothing I could do about it!";

d) Try and run him over?

4. Which of the following are current legal restrictions on a Christmas tree being carried home on the roof of your car?

a) It should not be standing upright;

b) It should not be rooted in

earth on top of the car;

c) It should not have presents tied to the branches;

d) The lights on the tree should not be switched on.

5. If three roads lead to a roundabout, and a car arrives at the roundabout at exactly the same time on each of the three roads, which car has the right of way?

a) The one which forces its way on first;

b) The one which doesn't stop;

c) The one going fastest;

d) The one with the blue light on top;

e) Yours;

f) The one driven by the man with road rage?

6. If you are stuck in a traf-

fic jam on a motorway, which doesn't move for over an hour, and you get so fed up that you get out and start walking about, and you get talking to a bloke in a van who likes the look of your car, and he makes you an offer for it, and you are so mad you decide to sell it there and then, and he hands over the cash and you start walking home, and just then the jam starts moving again, are you still responsible for getting the car out of there? Describe briefly the reasons for the answer you gave.

7. A small animal or bird flies or runs in front of your car. You think you may have hit it, though you hope not. What would you do?

a) Do a U-turn and go to the animal's assistance;

b) Drive on;

c) Drive on, but looking anxiously in the rear mirror for that tell-tale little body lying in the road behind you until you run into the back of a big slow lorry in front of you.

8. If you run into unexpected flood water, should you:

a) Go as fast as possible;

b) Go as slowly as possible;

c) Keep to starboard;

d) Give way to older vehicles;

e) Hoist the appropriate flag.

9. Under what circumstances can a vehicle be licensed for the performing of the marriage service inside?

a) If it is a chauffeur-driven limousine used for church purposes and the car is held up on the way to the service;

b) If it is floating on flood water and you are the captain;

c) If it is a circus caravan,

10. If you drive out of a motorway service area filling station and realise just as you re-emerge on to the motorway that you forgot to pay for the petrol, what should you do?

a) Reverse back up to the filling station;

b) Drive like hell;

c) Hoist a big sign as soon as the police appear behind you saying: "ALL RIGHT, COPPER, I KNOW I FORGOT TO PAY, SO SHALL I PULL OVER TO THE HARD SHOULDER AND GIVE YOU A CHEQUE, OR WHAT?"

Good luck!

The Labour leader bears his policy document like an anxious curator with a priceless vase. But on slippery ground, he is right to be cautious

Steady, Tony, it could still fall apart

Honest manifestos tell the truth, and nothing but the truth. But they cannot tell the whole truth about a programme for government, especially for one intended to last more than one term.

Lord Howe's memoirs are eloquent about the lengths to which Margaret Thatcher went in resisting the incorporation into the 1979 manifesto of the apocalyptic *Stepping Stones* document drawn up for her two years earlier by John Hoskyns. *Stepping Stones* made the fulcrum of what Howe calls "sea change in political economy" that it identified as the task of an incoming Tory government.

Mrs Thatcher agreed with almost every word of it. But she was deeply cautious about saying so publicly ahead of the election. Even when the unforeseen events of the pre-election winter made the central issue of the day, she shrank from including its most far-reaching conclusions in the manifesto. Instead, as Howe says with masterly under-

statement, the *Stepping Stones* approach remained "available for guidance in the years ahead".

That isn't to say that the *Road to the Manifesto* which Tony Blair will unveil today masks, in any conventional sense, a hidden agenda. But it is a reminder of the shortcomings of opposition compared with the opportunities in government.

Describing Blair's passage to the election, Lord Jenkins recently offered guests at a Liberal Democrat dinner the analogy of a curator nervously carrying a priceless gossamer-thin Ming vase across a newly polished and treacherously slippery museum floor. There was an amiable criticism implicit in the image conjured by Jenkins; that Blair is too anxious about the perils of the journey, not risky enough in his impatience to complete it.

Blair doesn't see it that way;

because for the Labour leader, every hostage given to a Tory press, every extravagant spending promise, every needless posture struck about issues from beef to the Prevention of Terrorism Act which his party is powerless to influence in opposition, threatens the shattering of the vase, and with it the renewed hopes of British social democracy.

So prevalent is the belief among politicians of all parties that Labour will win the general election that scarcely any of them confronts the historic meltdown it will mean for Labour if he fails to do so. Prepared to contemplate that awful prospect, Blair is at least as sensitised to the dangers and limitations of pre-election opposition as Mrs Thatcher was.

To take an example, welfare reform, and the switching of resources from social security to



DONALD MACINTYRE

education, is central to the thrust of today's document. But we are unlikely to know how fast Blair intends to achieve that. And even if he had the exact blueprint and published it now, he would be engaged in conflicting advice from every interest group in the country.

For all the populist and arresting language in which Blair is reliably said to have written today's draft manifesto, it is deliberately limited in scope.

Ian Macleod once said acidly of the Tory manifesto that preceded Labour's 1966 landslide that it contained 131 commitments but no ideas. As a result, the electorate had no notion what the party's policy was.

By contrast, the firm pledges in today's document, from the limit on infant class sizes to the promise of a job or real training place to every 16- to 18-year-old, literally can be contained in the credit-card sized document of which the party has printed two million copies. Blair has been ruthless in weeding out not only the promises that would require tax increases to pay for them, but also all those not certain of being achieved in a first term.

As late as this very week, he withstood a concerted effort to harden policy on state pensions by making explicit the goal of matching their

growth to that of earnings. Earlier manifestos offered policies on what Blair once called "everything from stray cats to world disarmament". Today's document promises not the earth, but a start to Labour's aim of restoring social cohesion and economic efficiency. And although it will fail to answer some of the thorniest questions - such as child benefit for 16- to 18-year-olds and whether there will be a higher tax rate - there is no sign that the final manifesto will otherwise differ radically from today's document. For all the protestations about consultation throughout the party, the forthcoming ballot of members cannot do other than endorse it wholesale.

This is already deeply disturbing some of Blair's restive backbench critics. But it may suit the minimalist times. The message to the party

is that in a climate in which politicians aren't trusted any more, it is not just pointless but fatal to promise more than you can deliver, or - and this may be even less ambitious - what the voters think you can deliver.

The party will surely absorb this message. But what it will not be able to tell from today's document is whether Blair would be as radical from the social democratic centre left as Margaret Thatcher was from the right.

First, as he reminded Labour MPs yesterday, he has to get elected. But in office there are fewer alibis than in opposition. He believes that social cohesion, welfare state reform and the re-equipping of the economy through education are as big as Thatcher's state-shrinking, union-curbing agenda. But if his momentum falters in office, then the capacity for disillusionment among the tens of thousands of party members who at first hesitantly, then enthusiastically, participated in the rewriting of Clause IV is as limitless as their hopes are now.

What me? I'm off to lunch

The officer class at the Somme was cruel and stupid. And their modern equivalents can be as disgusting

On Monday 1 July, Michael Portillo, the Defence Secretary, had lunch at Lancaster House with the President of the French Assembly and spent the rest of the day holding meetings in his office. From there, 80 years ago, he would have been able to hear the artillery barrage that preceded the British assault on the German lines that began on 1 July 1916, the first day of the Battle of the Somme.

He chose not to commemorate that day at Thiepval with the veterans of the army of which he is political master.

Before we condemn him, we should bear in mind that friends of John Redwood, his rival for the Tory leadership, are going out of their way to make us loathe Portillo. They may have fomented this fuss about his non-attendance. Nevertheless, disliking Portillo remains an important obligation for us all - his manner is disgusting, and on this occasion, as on others, he has displayed an extraordinary lack of taste.

For 1 July 1916 was both the most important day in our modern military history and among the most important in our entire history. To make matters worse for the Defence Secretary, this may be the last anniversary of that date for which we can call on living memory. Some Somme veterans are in their hundreds. They will not be with us in 10 years. The next anniversary will not really be an anniversary at all. The event will have passed fully into recorded rather than remembered history.

There is, now, some controversy about how we should judge that first day in terms of military history. For most of the 20th century - from Wilfred Owen to Rowan Atkinson's *Blackadder* - it has been regarded as a monumental blunder perpetrated by a callous High Command who through-out the war cared nothing for the lives of their troops. It is routinely seen as the supreme condemnation of the British class system. Working-class conscripts, lured by the call of duty and the glamour of escape, were chucked into the firing line by cruel, stupid toffs.

Revisionists now say that, though it was undoubtedly a catastrophe, it was forced upon the generals by the political and military demands of the hour. Subsequently, they learnt their lesson and won the decisive second Battle of the Somme employing considerably more humane and modern methods.

And we did, after all, win the war - a victory we seem less disposed to celebrate than that of 1945.

Such a controversy has its place, not least in British self-perception. The idea that we have a criminally or comically incompetent ruling class has been a fixed and frequently debilitating aspect of our politics and our culture since the Great War. We still believe in the failings of leadership, more readily because of the slaughter at the Somme. Perhaps that belief is why I so readily dislike Portillo. But, if the generals were not really that incompetent, then our routine contempt for leaders is based upon a misreading of history, and our national habit of giving moral weight

to the mannerisms of class is founded upon a lie.

But that issue becomes almost insignificant, a local matter, when set against the elemental spectacle of mechanised, futile slaughter provided by that first day of battle. It is said that more died on that first day of the Somme than had died in the whole previous century of conflicts in Europe. A hundred years of relative peace had led to this. Human progress would always, thereafter, seem a thin, vain, unconvincing faith. For this was a moment that seemed to come from beyond history, a timeless statement of the perpetual possibility of absolute failure.

In many ways, as the historian and critic Paul Fussler has pointed out, it was an image that created the modern sensibility. The blood and mud of the trenches when set against the mannered civilisation of Edwardian England gave birth to a peculiarly modern form of irony based upon the awareness of the contingent, organic mess that lies beneath the enforced order of society. Order itself became a kind of joke, a desperate, doomed attempt to avoid the abyss.

And it gave birth to the modern sense of the human reality of the masses. As the best poems of the time



All quiet on the Portillo front: Somme veterans visited Picardy without the Defence Secretary (centre). Left to right: General Haig, Wifred Owen and TV's Blackadder

prove, the patrician officers suddenly saw in those massacred brigades of chums and pals not undifferentiated cannon fodder but men like themselves. Wifred Owen's clay that grew tall formed not the sensitive, cultivated, suffering poet, but Everyman.

This was a realisation whose importance can hardly be overstated. Leaving aside salvation and the immortal soul, the essential secular message of Christianity is: ordinary people have feelings too. It is a radical statement of the irreducibility and commonality of human experience. It took a while to sink in - about 1,880 years, in fact, the length of time between the Sermon on the Mount and 1 July 1916.

But when it did, the shock brought one civilisation to an end and ushered in a modern world in which there can be no ultimate legitimacy but that of mass approval, in which some form of equality, however attenuated, is part of everybody's political predisposition.

This, along with the technology that made mass killing possible, changed the complexion of war itself - though oddly, for the worse. Once the masses acquired a voice to which their leaders had to listen, they also became a legitimate target. The bombing of civilian populations in the Second World War signalled the realisation that armies alone were not the point, people were - both because of

what they did and what they felt. So 1914-18 had not been the war to end wars, but rather the war that broadened the definition of conflict to include us all.

All of which is to say that Portillo should have been there on Monday. This commemoration, for all its vast significance, was still a military event; he was the one politician who had to attend. But, in truth, we should all have been there. Those ancient veterans witnessed a terrible battle, one of the worst in history, but they were also there at the awful birth pangs of the contemporary world. Soon they will be gone and we shall begin, as we always do, to forget.

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THURSDAY DIARY

John Walsh

The DJ, realising he had some Brits on the dancefloor, reached for the Sex Pistols ...



Few combinations of words in the English language ("memorial service", "divorce reception") carry the same air of melancholic revelry as do the words "leaving party". It is their predictability, the embarrassing speech ("I can honestly say I've never worked with a more talented group of people"), the last-minute present from Thrift Gift, the who's-next banter, the baffling messages on the good-bye card, the frankly doomed attempt to impress the young lady from Bought Ledger, the last Tube home ...

Imagine then, my delight when a departing colleague decided to whoop it up on the Continent. Forget the scabby boozers of the Isle of Dogs, he said, we'll have this party in - ooh, Venice would be about right. Cannes perhaps, or Versailles, or Prague, somewhere grand and Napoleonic. We'll charter a jumbo, cram it with chateaux, Roederer Cristal, Beluga and in-flight fashion install an in-flight fashion parade and Nautilus gym and ... By the following week, his arrangements had become less ambitious: okay, we head for Boulogne, and take a dozen taxis to L'Atlantique, the hotel-restaurant-dancehall equivalent of its trendy Piccadilly namesake. There we'll drink Piper Hiedstock from the shoes of poules de hute from Montmartre.

play canasta, have a gallon of illegal absinthe ... By the next week, things had scaled down again. We were now off to Belgium for dinner and dancing ... So we flew over in what appeared to be a Second World War Mosquito (free in-flight salami bun), drove about in a coach and dined at a charming restaurant where the dying gasps of nouvelle cuisine are still celebrated (single moule en croustille served in egg cup). After 2.30am, it all got a little blurred. I remember roaming Antwerp's bland shopping mall, asking bits of Euroflotsam outside Marks and Benetton where the action was to be found. The most friendly-disposed of our crew indulged in yelling contests about Jurgen Klinsmann. I recall feeling puzzled to find an enormous and beautiful white cathedral rearing up amid the franchise shops like a brilliant secret. I remember lots of urgent seduction breaking out amid the smashed glass of a backstreet disco. ("So, you are all on holiday, yes?" a local youth asked one of the girls. "No, no," she replied, "Canary. What? Leaving party." "In Antwerp?" he asked, wide-eyed.) I watched as a distinguished editorial colleague, a man famous for his unflappable demeanour, tore off his shirt to wince the beer and sweat from it at 4am. I remember

how the DJ, realising he had some Brits on the floor, reached for the Sex Pistols ... It was, admittedly, some way from the ball at the Doge's Palace we had first planned. And next week, I expect, leaving parties will once again be things you have at the Café Rouge with glasses of Merlot. But something remains incontrovertible. Say that health and wealth have missed me. Say that youth and energy have fled. Say I will never again do up a pair of 32in-waist Wranglers. But can I just put on record that, at 42, I was warned by a bald and threatening bouncer in a Belgian nightclub to cut out the manic pogo-ing at 6 o'clock in the morning?

News reaches me of a shocking outbreak of literal-mindedness in Scotland. The Cape novelist John King has been impressing reviewers (not ours, alas) with his tough tale of tottie and terraces, entitled *The Football Factory*. But while the book is selling well, it's also become one of the year's most shoplifted items. No less than nine copies were nicked last month from the John Smith bookshop in Glasgow. This presumably wouldn't have anything to do with the fact that the World's Finest Living Writer, Irvine Welsh, can be found putting the book on the cover, and advising punters, "Buy, steal or borrow a copy now." Should the felons

responsible ever come to London, I hope they will be more sophisticated about the "KILL to get a ticket" signs in Shaftesbury Avenue.

I met a classical musician the other day, who gave me a fascinating performer's-eye view of the Secretary of State for National Heritage. He had encountered Mrs Bottomley on Saturday before last, at the Aldeburgh Festival in Snape Maltings, Suffolk. She's so keen to attend, festival-goers murmured admiringly, she had flown there straight from the England-Spain match earlier that afternoon. Look, there's the ministerial helicopter parked on the Maltings' lawn. And indeed it was an impressive sight, complete with pilot and co-pilot, and at least one Heritage minder who went through the crowd asking people how long the evening's concert was likely to go on for.

The concert was the City of London Sinfonia's performance of Mahler's Fourth Symphony, with its famously long, slow and generally adagio third movement. Three or four minutes into it, the enraptured audience became aware that their Heritage minister was discreetly leaving them, as the place reverberated with the sound of her helicopter taking off. Barely 100 yards above the

Maltings' slatted wooden roof, a couple of tons of governmental chopper thrummed and bated and ground its gears and went WHUP-WHUP-WHUP like a mad thing before sweeping the lovely Virginia B. away into the night. "It was very off-putting for the performers," said my man in the woodwinds section. "Completely destroyed the whole mood of the concert." If only they'd been playing Wagner - the audience could have dreamt they were remaking *Apocalypse Now*.

A new ice-cream is launched today by Ben & Jerry, the American frozen-pudding moguls. What's special about it is that it's supposed to be the quintessence of Britishness. In reply to a B&J questionnaire, seven thousand-odd fans sent in their suggestions for the flavour that "Britain" would be if she were an ice-cream. The winner was "Cool Britannia" (vanilla with strawberries and chocolate-covered shortbread), the bright idea of a Yank lawyer called Sarah Moydian-Williams. Not bad, if we must have ravens-at-the-Tower national stereotypes, but I preferred some of the losing suggestions: the Charles and Diana Split, for instance, or the Vanilla Parker Bowles, the Agatha Christie or (what the hell) the Jack the Ripper, James Bombe, Cashew Grant ...

Record profits as Weinstock steps down in style

TOM STEVENSON
City Editor

Lord Weinstock will step down as managing director of GEC on 9 September, marking the end of his 33-year reign at Britain's biggest manufacturing and defence company. The transfer of power to former Lucas chief executive George Simpson was confirmed yesterday along with better-than-expected results for the year to March.

Analysts agreed that he had gone out in style, with profits exceeding £1bn, before exceptional charges, for the first time. He leaves GEC with a £14bn debt book, up 10 per cent on a year ago, and with a £2.5bn cash pile. After years of bearing Lord Weinstock's relative parsimony, shareholders were rewarded with an unexpected 10 per cent rise in the full year dividend to 12.51p.

"This is racy stuff for GEC," Tressan MacCarthy, an analyst at Panmure Gordon, said of the dividend. "In the past GEC has been incredibly prudent and maybe it's going to be a bit more generous in future."

Brian Newman, analyst at Henderson Crosthwaite, said the stock had been depressed ahead of the results by market rumours of disappointing

figures and significant restructuring charges.

"These figures will dispel any negative rumours and restore some confidence in the stock," Mr Newman said. "Weinstock is going out on a high note."

Lord Prior, GEC chairman, paid tribute to Lord Weinstock as he confirmed that a new position of chairman emeritus would be created "so that the company will have available the benefit of his long experience and deep knowledge". Lord Weinstock will not sit on GEC's board, but he will have an office at the company's Stanhope Gate headquarters and is expected to use it every day.

The closing of the Weinstock era at GEC puts an end to years of uncertainty during which the succession to what has been called the most important job in British industry has been agonised over by Lord Weinstock and shrouded in secrecy.

Over the past decade, many favourites have come and gone, with the roll-call of those who came close to receiving the nod reading like a *Who's Who* of British industry. Sir Colin Southgate chose to remain with Thorn EMI, Michael Green of Carlton was considered briefly as Alan Sugar, the consumer electronics entrepreneur who

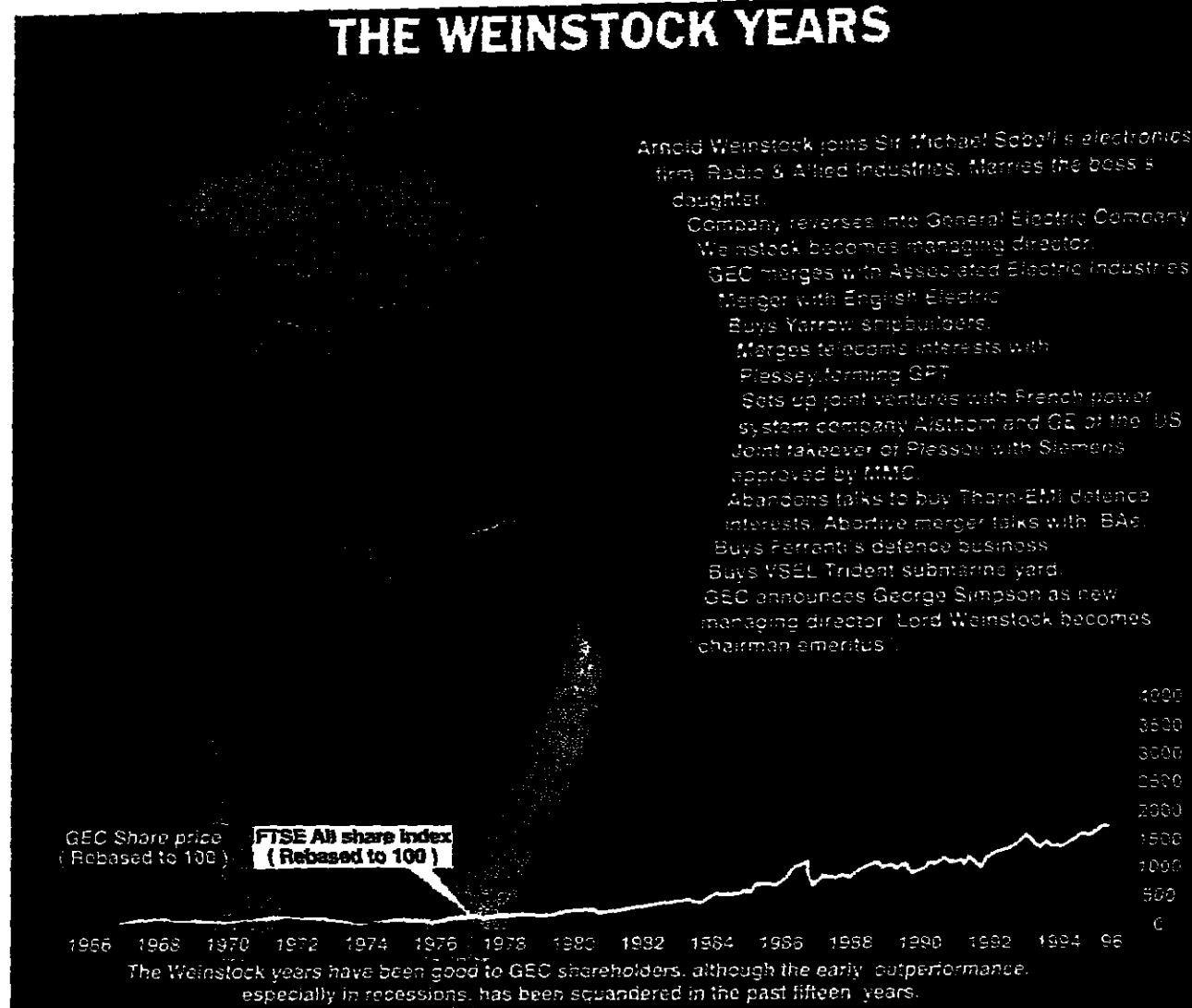
came close to characterising everything that GEC was not.

GEC's pre-tax profits for the year to March of £981m were well up on the £891m recorded in 1995, but detractors said yesterday they did not represent a great step forward from the £710m achieved as long ago as 1986. The company's many critics accuse GEC of undue caution, which has led it to miss a string of opportunities in industries for which it had the technical skills but lacked the willingness to take the necessary chances.

The growth in profits last year reflected an improved performance from GEC Marconi, the defence electronics arm, where cost-overruns on large contracts had held back the first-half result. The company said solutions had been found for the technical problems and it did not expect results in future years to be affected. Boosted by the acquisition last year of warship and submarine maker VSEL, profits jumped from £205m to £291m.

GEC Alsthom, the Anglo-French power joint venture, and GPT, the telecommunications operation, which is jointly owned with Siemens of Germany, both reported record sales and profits.

When George Simpson takes over, he is expected to face a daunting task to follow in the



footsteps of one of British business's most idiosyncratic and forceful managers. When not pursuing his twin passions for Mozart and horse-racing, Lord Weinstock gained a reputation for spending long hours in his office, maintaining almost constant telephone contact with his managers, more than 200 of whom

were on his speed-dial system. Arguably, only Hanson and BTR shared his passion for financial controls when he introduced monthly reporting in the 1960s and 1970s, long before such monitoring became a central management technique.

Analysis believes the arrival of Mr Simpson, fresh from the disposal of Rover to BMW while at British Aerospace and a turnaround in Lucas's fortunes, will mark a dramatic change of culture at GEC.

Attention is most closely focused, however, on whether his close links with BAE's Dick Evans will lead to the long-rumoured merger of GEC's defence interests with BAE.

EU joins fray on airline alliances

PATRICK TOONER

The European Commission yesterday launched an investigation into six main transatlantic airline alliances as it sought an equal role with Washington in policing competition along blue ribbon routes.

The inquiry will include British Airways' planned link with American Airlines, which will form the world's most powerful airline alliance – the catalyst for yesterday's move.

British Airways' proposed tie-up is already being investigated by the Office of Fair Trading in Britain, the United States Justice Department and an influential all-party committee of MPs.

The EU will look into co-operation deals between Germany's Lufthansa and United Airlines of the US; Scandinavian Airlines (SAS) and United; British Airways and USAir; Swissair and Belgium's Sabena; Austrian Airlines and Delta; and between KLM of the Netherlands and Northwest.

"It is important to ensure that such alliances do not damage competition or erode consumers' interests," European Transport Commissioner Neil Kinnock told a joint news conference with his competition counterpart, Karel van Miert.

An accompanying paper said the Commission's preliminary view was that such deals would "substantially restrict competition on the routes between the United States and Europe as well as on some intra-Community (EU) routes".

Mr van Miert justified the inquiry, which will last several months, on the grounds of the transatlantic imbalance in authority which he said allowed US anti-trust authorities a free rein to set conditions on deals.

"For some time now we have been confronted with all sorts of alliances between American and European airlines," he said.

"Up until now we have only been able to examine the part of those alliances which affect flights within Europe. On the American side, they are entitled to look at the transatlantic dimension outside of the US," Mr van Miert added.

In the past airline alliances have been inspected by the national competition authorities of the EU country involved, leaving the deal's overall impact on European aviation markets unexamined.

However, the Commission may face a fight over the legal grounds it has used to extend its jurisdiction.

Comment, page 23

New TV channel to make joint bids

MATHEW HORSMAN
Media Editor

Channel 5 Broadcasting, owners of the planned fifth terrestrial television channel, has approached Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB with a plan to buy US programming jointly and to secure terrestrial rights to some shows now on Sky Television.

The talks, which are still at an early stage, could see the two broadcasters bid jointly for US shows before the launch of Channel 5 in January 1997.

Channel 5 also wants to bid for the rights to popular action programmes, such as *Highlander*, to which BSkyB has both terrestrial and satellite rights. Some of Sky's terrestrial rights were bought in advance of the auction for Channel 5, for which BSkyB was a leading contender.

The new channel, owned by Pearson, United News & Media and CLT, the Luxembourg-based broadcaster, is currently commissioning and acquiring programmes for its first year of operation. With a budget of £110m, next to £600m at ITV, the new channel will concentrate on daytime television, where it is expected to rely on traditional daytime fare, along with US and other imported series.

Sky, which broadcasts popular US shows such as *Melrose Place* and *The Simpsons*, has developed into a "proving ground" for US TV series, according to David Elstein, Sky's head of programmes.

"The ITV companies and the BBC have both understood that if programmes are successful in 25 per cent of UK homes, then they should be popular in the other 75 per cent" – those without cable or satellite.

Two popular programmes pioneered in the UK by Sky, *The Simpsons* and *The X-Files*, are now being broadcast on the BBC. Mr Elstein said the advantages work both ways.

Defensive Woolwich set to mount dual takeover

NIC CICUTTI

Woolwich Building Society is preparing to mount dual takeover bids on a building society and a life company as part of a rapid expansion strategy ahead of its planned £3bn stock market flotation. Among the institutions it has held talks with are Birmingham Midshires and NPL, the mutual insurer.

Woolwich hopes to make at least one announcement concerning a UK society or an insurer ahead of its demutualisation next year.

A separate acquisition in Europe is also likely in the next few months. However, any takeover would not be completed until after Woolwich's flotation.

Its moves were yesterday seen by some City analysts as helping to stave off the advances

of rival predators, including Prudential, which are believed to be considering their own takeover bids for Woolwich.

But it also reflects the view of its newly appointed chief executive, John Stewart, that Woolwich must expand in the UK and in Europe to become an all-round financial services player. Mr Stewart yesterday declined to comment on details of the society's talks.

"What we are trying to do at Woolwich is wrap financial services round the customer and his needs, be that in the field of life and pensions, general insurance, protection, savings, loans, or plastic cards."

"When you move in that direction, you will realise there are gaps. You don't need to be a rocket scientist to work out areas in which we need to grow."

Mr Stewart stressed Woolwich was determined not to mount hostile bids for another society or a life company. The aim of talking to an insurer would be to build on the activities of Woolwich Life, the society's subsidiary, potentially linking up with a specialist pensions provider.

It is understood that talks on building society mergers have not been exclusive to Birmingham Midshires.

Similarly, while Woolwich believes NPL would be a good "fit", the insurer might not wish to have more detailed discussions. Talks with other mutuals are thought to be at a more advanced stage.

A Midshires spokesman said: "Rumours will be rumours. But do not hold your breath for an announcement because there



Under wraps: John Stewart of the Woolwich

will not be one this week or the next."

The stumbling block is thought to be a refusal by Mr Jackson to consider a sub-servient position in a merged organisation after five years at the helm of Midshires.

Laurie Edmans, marketing director at NPL, said: "It is flattering that Woolwich think so well of us."

"We have had conversations, but I would not dignify their status as talks."

Figures underline strong US economy

DIANE COYLE
Economics Editor

There was fresh evidence yesterday of the strength of the US economy, as the Federal Reserve's open market committee finished its policy meeting. But, despite the evidence, the Fed did not raise interest rates.

Factory orders rose for the third month running in May, the number of new new jobless claims declined unexpectedly last week, and consumer confidence has reached a six-year high according to a poll for ABC News.

Orders rose by 1.9 per cent in May, while the initial estimate of a small decline in April was revised to a 0.2 per cent increase.

The jump in May was partly explained by aircraft orders, but there were increases in other categories too, notably industrial hardware and cars. Excluding aircraft and transportation, orders

were up 0.4 per cent during the month. In another encouraging sign of stronger demand, levels of stocks decreased slightly in May, while unfilled orders increased by 0.4 per cent.

Jobless claims fell by 4,800 to 351,000 in the last week of June, the third weekly decline in a row. The less erratic four-week average of new claims fell to 355,750 from 356,500.

This suggests figures for employment in June, due on Friday, could be stronger than anticipated. A surprise surge in the number of jobs in May hit shares on Wall Street due to fears strong growth would force the Fed to raise interest rates.

US employment has risen by an average of 222,400 a month so far this year, a pace many analysts think will have the Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan worried about future wage inflation.

Comment, page 23

Germany: Escom crisis deepens as losses mount □ Jobless totals likely to remain high in the short term

Computer giant seeks creditor protection

IMRE KARACS
Bonn
and NIGEL COPE

Escom, Germany's second-largest computer retailer which bought the former Rumbelows chain in the UK last year, filed for protection from creditors yesterday after mounting losses. Escom shares on the Düsseldorf stock exchange were suspended following the company's announcement that it would begin "intensive talks" with suppliers, creditors and shareholders about "stabilising" finances.

The filing follows Monday's announcement that Escom was closing 65 of its 233 UK stores with the loss of 227 jobs. Yesterday the company said the UK business would not be affected by the problems of the German

parent. "Escom confirms that it will continue to trade in the UK and that it has the full support of its banks," it said.

Escom UK was established as a separate business from the German parent in May. The company says its management accounts show that the UK business made a profit of £1m last year. "The UK PC market is booming, it is the German market that is in recession," a spokesman said.

In March, the Escom group reported a net loss of DM125m (£52.5m) for last year, but latest figures put the shortfall as high as DM180m, and yesterday it forecast another substantial deficit for the current year. The company presented a restructuring programme earlier this year but had been unable to

reach agreement with creditors and suppliers to protect liquidity. Of the DM100m sought in capital injections, only DM60m has flowed into the accounts so far.

News of Escom's difficulties follows an announcement by Digital on Tuesday that it is to cut 7,000 jobs after problems in its computer business in Europe. Digital is the world's second-largest computer company after IBM. The problems affecting all computer companies are falling PC prices which have forced many manufacturers to give rebates to dealers on unsold stock.

For 10 years Escom had been one of the success stories of German industry. Turnover rose 90 per cent annually, turning the computer shop into a global manufacturer and retailer of cut-price home PCs.

Recovery fails to lift employment gloom

Workers made redundant in Germany by Escom could have trouble finding new jobs. Unemployment stands at 10.3 per cent of the workforce, a shade below post-war records. The economic recovery expected in the second half of this year is not expected to make big inroads into the jobless total, writes Diane Coyle.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl admitted as much yesterday. Speaking at the Federal Labour Office, he said: "We know from past experience that an economic revival has a positive impact on the labour market only after some delay. The business cycle will not contribute to more employment this year."

There was further evidence that the economy is starting to recover. Industrial output increased by 1.1 per cent in May,

the Bundesbank reported yesterday. It was still 2.1 per cent lower than a year earlier, but the third monthly rise in succession was far bigger than economists had predicted.

The May increase was driven by manufacturing output rather than construction. Of particular interest was a 2.4 per cent increase in the production of intermediate goods, which typically expands strongly in the early stages of a recovery.

"The German economy bottomed at the end of the year and is now on the road to recovery," said Richard Reid, chief economist at investment bank UBS in Frankfurt. But he warned that growth would be subdued until confidence recovered too – something high unemployment is likely to prevent.




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STOCK MARKETS						
FT-SE 100		Dow Jones*		Nikkei		
						
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13700 World Index Value						
Indices						
Index	Close	Day's change	Change(%)	1996 High	1996 Low	Yield(%)
FTSE 100	3714.10	-11.60	-0.3	3857.10	3639.50	4.09
FTSE 250	4368.20	-9.80	-0.2	4568.80	4015.30	3.42
FTSE 350	1873.30	-5.50	-0.3	1945.40	1816.80	3.94
FT Small Cap	2188.33	-1.95	-0.1	2244.36	1954.06	2.87
FT All Share	1858.38	-5.16	-0.3	1924.17	1791.95	3.86
New York *	5689.35	-31.03	-0.5	5778.00	5032.94	2.19
Hong Kong	22379.02	+31.05	+0.1	22656.90	19734.70	0.711
Tokyo	11063.28	-21.15	-0.2	11594.69	10204.87	3.331
Hong Kong	2568.85	-3.30	-0.1	2573.69	2253.36	1.821
Frankfurt						

Source: FT Information

INTEREST RATES

Short sterling*

Month	Rate (%)
Jan 80	12.00
Feb 80	10.00
Mar 80	10.00
Apr 80	10.00
May 80	10.00
Jun 80	10.00
Jul 80	10.00
Aug 80	10.00
Sep 80	10.00
Oct 80	10.00
Nov 80	10.00
Dec 80	10.00
Jan 81	10.00
Feb 81	10.00
Mar 81	10.00
Apr 81	10.00
May 81	10.00
Jun 81	10.00
Jul 81	10.00
Aug 81	10.00
Sep 81	10.00
Oct 81	10.00
Nov 81	10.00
Dec 81	10.00
Jan 82	8.00

UK medium gilt*

Month	Rate (%)
Jan 80	12.00
Feb 80	10.00
Mar 80	10.00
Apr 80	10.00
May 80	10.00
Jun 80	10.00
Jul 80	10.00
Aug 80	10.00
Sep 80	10.00
Oct 80	10.00
Nov 80	10.00
Dec 80	10.00
Jan 81	10.00
Feb 81	10.00
Mar 81	10.00
Apr 81	10.00
May 81	10.00
Jun 81	10.00
Jul 81	10.00
Aug 81	10.00
Sep 81	10.00
Oct 81	10.00
Nov 81	10.00
Dec 81	10.00
Jan 82	8.00

US long bond

Month	Rate (%)
Jan 80	12.00
Feb 80	10.00
Mar 80	10.00
Apr 80	10.00
May 80	10.00
Jun 80	10.00
Jul 80	10.00
Aug 80	10.00
Sep 80	10.00
Oct 80	10.00
Nov 80	10.00
Dec 80	10.00
Jan 81	10.00
Feb 81	10.00
Mar 81	10.00
Apr 81	10.00
May 81	10.00
Jun 81	10.00
Jul 81	10.00
Aug 81	10.00
Sep 81	10.00
Oct 81	10.00
Nov 81	10.00
Dec 81	10.00
Jan 82	8.00

*100 day money market

Tuesday 25.1.1981

Money Market Rates

Index	1 Month	1 Year
UK	5.75	6.10
US	5.24	6.10
Japan	0.41	1.00
Germany	3.34	3.57

Bond Yields *

	Medium Bond (G)	Year Age	Long Bond	00/Nov Age
UK	7.93	8.30	8.04	8.37
US	8.81	9.19	8.96	8.61
Japan	2.24	2.39	-	-
Germany	8.55	6.80	7.08	-

*Weekend futures

MAIN PRICE CHANGES

Shares	Price (p)	Change (p)	Shares	Price (p)	Change (p)	Shares	Price (p)	Change (p)	
East Midlands Elec	565	22	4.1	Daniel Business	448	35	7.2		
Gen Electric Co	363	12	3.4	Marston Therap	320	11	3.3		
Vickers	280	8	3.2	Orange	212.5	7	3.2		

CURRENCIES

£/\$

£/DM

£/¥

Year-to-Year exchange rates and 100 Yen Base, August to 1990 Issues

Pound

	Yesterday	Change	Year Ago
£ (London)	1.5690	+0.28c	1.5618
£ (NY York)	1.5590	+0.05c	1.5662
DM (London)	2.3777	+0.18pf	2.2019
¥ (London)	172.379	+¥0.99c	136.217
\$ Index	86.8	+0.1	83.3

Dollar

	Yesterday	Change	Year Ago
£ (London)	0.6414	-0.12	0.6282
£ (NY York)	0.6416	-0.03	0.6285
DM (London)	1.5293	-0.16pf	1.3833
¥ (London)	110.570	+¥0.43	84.9800
\$ Index	97.4	unch	89.4

OTHER INDICATORS

	Yesterday	Day's Change	Year Ago		Index	Lastest	Yr Ago	Next Page
ON Brent \$	19.17	-0.13	16.06	RPI	152.9	+2.2pc	149.6	11 July
Gold \$	382.20	+0.3	383.80	GDP	130.3	+10c	129.2	26 July
Base Rate	5.75							
Base Rate	5.75							

business

Cray offers a lesson in wonder shares

THE INVESTMENT COLUMN

EDITED BY TOM STEVENSON

The history of Cray Electronics should be a salutary lesson for investors swept off their feet by stock market wonder shares. The computer networks and software company was a darling of the City when such things were fashionable, but everything has gone horribly wrong since last year's profits warning. After peaking at 198p in February 1994 the shares are back almost exactly where they were when former chairman Roger Holland and his team bought in in 1989.

With luck, yesterday's results for the year to April should mark the nadir of the group's problems, although the imminent departure of Roger Dye, the only recently appointed finance director, is not a good omen. An £835,000 profit in 1995 has been replaced by a massive £19.4m deficit at the pre-tax level after new management threw in all the bad news it could find.

That the dismal tidings were hardly unexpected is reflected in the modest 3.5p dip in the shares to 41p yesterday. Most of the pain last year was borne by the Communications business, which makes equipment for and installs computer networks. An £8.2m write-off on stock as a result of wedding out loss-making products

and reducing the portfolio is only slightly higher than previously indicated. But the decision to concentrate the business on Watford has led to a further £2.6m property charge.

That comes on top of a £4.2m provision taken elsewhere to try to cap the running sore of paying uneconomic rents for properties now empty after the decision to reverse the previous expansion programme. Even so, Cray faces a annual drain of at least £2m for rents which will be wiped out the cost savings to be derived from the latest factory closures.

Management has taken decisive action to focus the business, symbolised in yesterday's £11m deal to sell the profitable P-E International management consultancy operation to the AIM-quoted Lorient. The communications business now boasts an order book of £79m, bigger than last year's turnover, and appears to have a potential best-seller in its ethernet switch. The partnership deals with industry leaders like Cisco and Stratacom of the US also look sensible for a tiddler like Cray.

Therein also lies its problem, as Cray is up against giants like BT and IBM. Profits may rebound to £5m this year, putting the shares on a heady multiple of over 20, but the real hope must lie in takeover prospects. Hold.

Growing pains at Cavendish

The £21.5m bid by Court Cavendish for rival nursing home group Greenacre in April looks to have started something of a consolidation phase in the sector. That deal, now unconditional, catapulted Court Cavendish into third place among UK operators and strengthened its position in the South of England. Given the continuing squeeze on the private industry's finances and signs of saturation in the market, the bigger players must increasingly look towards acquisition if they want to continue to grow.

The problem was reflected in yesterday's results from Court Cavendish. Reported pre-tax profits slipped from £5.08m to £4.62m.

Stripping out the one-off effects of the move to depreciate property this year (at a cost of £732,000) and this year (at a cost of £732,000) and exceptional gains last time, there was underlying growth of 13 per cent. But all the increase came from the 387 extra beds the group has either built or acquired in the past two years. Operating margins were broadly unchanged at just under 21 per cent.

The pincher movement on margins is illustrated by the fact that while overall fees rose 2.2 per cent, wage costs advanced 2.5 per cent. The pressure is unlikely to ease, given the shortage of nursing staff and the well publicised problems of local authority funding for the elderly.

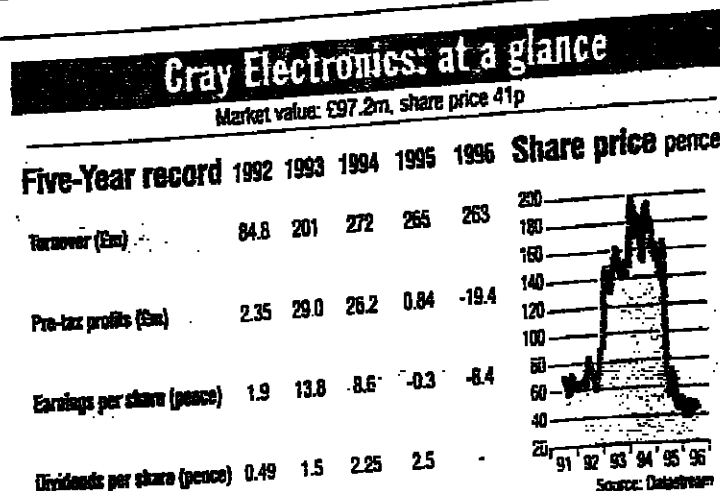
Those difficulties contributed to a fall in occupancy to 91 per cent from 92.7 per cent, but Court Cavendish's accelerating expansion programme is also proving a drag on the figures. As well as hitting occupancy, interest charges soared as capital expenditure jumped from £10m to £18.4m.

Even after yesterday's £6.7m sale and leaseback deal with Abbey Life on two of its homes, the addition of Greenacre will raise gearing from a year-end figure of 35 per cent to around 60 per cent.

Earnings growth this year will be held back by a further 280 bed development programme and a sharply rising tax charge. Profits of £6.1m would feed through to a forward price-earnings ratio of 12, with the shares up 2p at 219p. Fairly rated.

Costs catch up with Sherwood

When Sherwood Group, the lingerie and lace manufacturer, included two glossy pull-outs of scantily clad models in its annual report in April some City investors feared the worst. This, they said, was normally a bad sign. An attempt to distract the reader from some rosy figures at the back of the document. In fact, the full-year numbers were pretty good and investors felt that Sherwood had somehow managed to buck the trend in the troubled textile sector hit by a combination of high raw material



costs, weak demand and weather that depressed sales of everything from woollen jumpers to socks. In fact, Sherwood has run into some of the same problems, only later.

Yesterday's profits warning showed that the group's performance has been adversely affected by weak consumer demand, not in the UK but in continental Europe. The downturn will mean the half-year profits will show a "significant shortfall" on last year when the company made £7.24m.

In the garment division, the Italian lingerie manufacturer Lepel has been hit by weaker demand, particularly from supermarkets. European demand for Sherwood's lace

has also been under pressure, particularly from cheaper versions from Italy, and the company will take a £500,000 re-structuring this year to cut costs in Holland and Germany. The company needs to move up-market to differentiate itself more and the only bright spot is the UK where the lace business improved.

With the board expecting the soggy market to continue throughout the summer before an upturn in the final quarter, there is little here to cheer shareholders. The shares fell another 9p to 73p yesterday. With the West forecasting full-year profits of £14m, the shares trade on a forward rating of 10. Given the uncertainties, that is about right.

Ailing Wickes secures £18m from banks

PATRICK TOOHER

Wickes, the troubled DIY retailer laid low by the recent discovery of serious accounting irregularities, yesterday said it had secured the support of its syndicate of 11 banks to provide new lending facilities.

Chairman Michael von Brentano said: "Our objective and that of our funding banks has been to ensure stability for the business. We have made it plain that the accounting issues which have been uncovered should not detract from the fact that our operating businesses are sound."

A Wickes spokesman said a working facility of £18m had been made available to the company. This replaces the £30m Wickes borrowed from a banking syndicate led by Barclays in February 1995, but had never fully drawn down.



Resigned: Henry Sweetbaum will still be questioned

The news followed lengthy recent meetings with the bankers to assess the problems. They were concerned about Wickes' future following last week's revelations of an accounting scam going back several years.

Wickes, the UK's third largest DIY retailer, has reiterated in the last week that the accounting problems have not resulted in a cash flow problem.

But the irregularities, described by the company as "deliberately misleading", have resulted in an overstating of profits over several years. Latest internal estimates indicate that 1995 profits were overstated by £20m to £25m.

Wickes is currently in the throes of an internal investigation to discover the scale of the problem and its perpetrators. The thrust of the investigation, being carried out by accountants Price Waterhouse and law firm Linklaters & Paines, is believed to centre on the relationship between Wickes and its suppliers. Initial reports are expected next week.

Meanwhile the company's shares remain suspended at 69p, having almost halved when news of the irregularities broke.

Henry Sweetbaum resigned the next day as the £1m-a-year chairman and chief executive. Two senior managers have also been suspended pending the outcome of the inquiry which will interview Wickes' employees, including Mr Sweetbaum.

Buy-back hits RJB shares

MAGNUS GRIMOND

RJB Mining, Britain's biggest coal group, yesterday spent £94.3m buying back about 10 per cent of its outstanding shares. Richard Budge, chief executive, sold nearly 400,000 of his own holding but still retains 3.6 million shares.

The buy-back is expected to double gearing to around 60 per cent, but it should result in a 7 per cent enhancement to earnings in a full year.

Gordon McPhie, finance director, said it was a reward for shareholders who backed the £815m acquisition of the English assets of British Coal at the end of 1994.

"It's a good buy-back and I think very few people thought we could do this when we bought English Coal 18 months ago," He said it would not affect management share options, which became exercisable from the beginning of June.

The purchase, handled by the company's brokers Barclays de Zoete Wedd, lowered RJB's shares 13p to 540p yesterday. It coincided with a statement revealing that coal sales had slipped by 1 million tonnes to 20 million tonnes in the first half of 1996.

Comment, page 23

Reed pays £160m for Shepard

MATHEW HORSMAN
Media Editor

Reed-Elsevier, the Anglo-Dutch publishing giant, yesterday scooped up a half-share in the leading US legal citation service, Shepard, paying about \$250m (£160m).

The deal, done in partnership with Times Mirror, the US publishing company, gives Reed a new partner to explore on-line publishing opportunities in the burgeoning US market.

For tax reasons, the deal has been structured as an asset swap between Times Mirror and McGraw Hill, which is offering Shepard in exchange for the Times Mirror Higher Education Group.

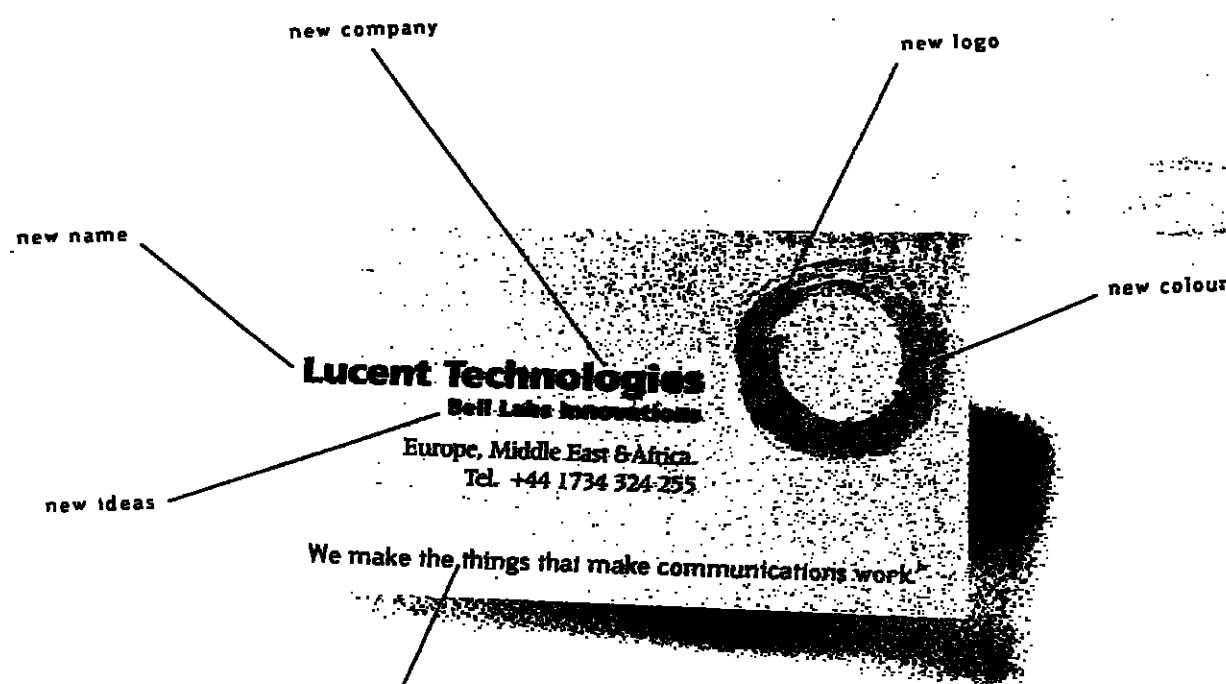
Nigel Stapleton, Reed's deputy chairman, said yesterday the acquisition would be earnings-enhancing. "This was a good opportunity, and an excellent fit with Times Mirror."

Reed's subsidiary, Lexus Nexus, is a leading on-line publishing service, and will be able to handle the electronic aspects of the Shepard business. Times Mirror subsidiary Matthew Bender is a leader in CD-Rom and hard-copy publishing, which makes the two companies "logical partners", Mr Stapleton said.

COMPANY RESULTS

	Turnover £	Pre-tax E	EPS	Dividend
Court Cavendish (P)	25.5m (23.3m)	5.3m (4.7m)	21.2p (19.8p)	5.3p (4.6p)
Cray Electronics (P)	227m (228m)	-19.4m (0.84m)	-8.4p (-0.3p)	nil (-)
Sherwood Group (P)	48.4m (44.2m)	2.35m (2.07m)	1.4p (1.26p)	0.3p (0.27p)
Lorient (P)	18.0m (11.5m)	0.90m (0.41m)	7.09p (3.17p)	2.5p (-)
Summit Electric (P)	11.0m (10.3m)	981m (801m)	22.5p (20.5p)	12.51p (11.37p)

(P) - Final (I) - Interim (N) - Nine months



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ROBERT PEELE
CHIEF EXECUTIVE, THISTLE PLC

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Index Code	2006 Low	2006 High	Stock	Price Chg	Net Income	2006 Low	2006 High	Stock	Price Chg
1203	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1204	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1205	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1206	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1207	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1208	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1209	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1210	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1211	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1212	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1213	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1214	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1215	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1216	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1217	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1218	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1219	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1220	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1221	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1222	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1223	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1224	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1225	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1226	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1227	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1228	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1229	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4
1230	36 1/4	37 1/4	7.9%	2 1/2	120	10 1/4	10 3/4	7.9%	10 1/4

Crown Estate profits: Record results for the owner of Pall Mall and a large chunk of Regent Street

Taxpayers take £94m from royal property

PATRICK TOOMER

The Crown Estate, owner of Windsor Great Park and prime central London estates, including Pall Mall and large tracts of Regent Street and Kensington, yesterday capped an eventful year by announcing record results most property companies would die for.

And for once, the biggest winners will be not be shareholders, but taxpayers.

Under the terms of a deal struck with a cash-strapped King George III in 1760, the monarch agreed to hand over the entire revenue surplus of the Crown Estate in return for the Civil List.

It is a constitutional settlement the monarchy has lived to regret. Payments under the Civil List currently cost the nation £7.9m a year, whereas the Crown Estate will hand over a cheque to Chancellor Kenneth Clarke for £94.6m, 11.5 per cent more than a year ago.

According to Christopher Howes, the Crown Estate's chief executive, the upkeep of the Royal Family, including head of state expenses, costs about £50m a year, "substantially less than our surplus".

The value of the Crown Estate's core property holdings, which also include almost 210,000 acres of agricultural land, Scottish fish farms and a retail park at Altrincham in Cheshire, rose a tenth to £2.2bn.

"These excellent results undoubtedly position the Crown Estate right at the forefront of the UK's leading prop-

erty investment companies," said Sir Denys Henderson, the former boss of ICI and Zeneca, who took over as chairman in August.

The Crown Estate has increased its revenue surplus every year for the past decade, showing strong growth right through the recession when many property companies plunged into loss. Mr Howes forecasts that the revenue surplus will break through the £100m barrier in the year to March 1997.

Mr Howes attributed its success to the discipline of having no borrowing powers. Unlike the Church Commissioners, which lost hundreds of millions financing development with debt, the Crown Estate can only invest with cash raised from asset sales.

The Crown Estate courted controversy last year when it became embroiled in a row over the felling of ancient oak and lime trees in Windsor Great Park.

The felling of oaks in Queen Anne's Ride was halted after representations to Buckingham Palace from conservationists and protests from local councils, residents and activists who camped in tree-houses.

Prince Philip later approved plans for restoring the park avenue, preserving 20 trees he had originally intended to cut down.

After conducting a review of plans for restoring the three-mile long avenue, first planted in the 1720s, the Crown Estate decided that the oldest oaks



Prime site: Much of London's Regent Street is owned by the Crown Estate, which has just announced a record year

which survived the chainsaws would be preserved.

The Crown Estate also owns over half the UK's foreshore and almost all of the seabed out to the 12-mile territorial limit. Mr Howes admitted that

dealing with the recently privatised water companies and port authorities had forced the Crown Estate to adopt a more commercial approach, but he dismissed suggestions that the Crown Estate itself

might one day be privatised.

The annual report, also published yesterday, revealed that Mr Howes' pay, including performance-related bonuses, rose to £135,237 from £103,982. He also received a £13,297 termi-

nal bonus on the expiry of his contract. A new, two-year contract was subsequently signed.

Mr Howes defended his salary package. "I'm not a fat cat," he said. "In fact I'm rather a thin one."

City bids and deals yield £500m in fees

PETER RODGERS
Financial Editor

Bankers, brokers, accountants, lawyers and public relations firms earned £500m from City bids and deals in the first half of the year and are on course to top £1bn for 1996, the magazine *Acquisitions Monthly* said yesterday.

This would be their most lucrative year, eclipsing the previous record of £950m at the height of the merger mania of the 1980s, when fees reached £950m.

Philip Healey, editor of the magazine, said: "The frenzied activity in the first half of 1996 had to be paid for and it did not come cheap."

In the first six months, there were 729 acquisitions worth £27.3bn, with the highest number of public company bids since 1990. The period also saw enormous shifts of position among the big investment banks, with Barings, owned by ING, dropping from top position in 1995 to 11th with £3.2bn

of public and private mergers and acquisitions.

Union Bank of Switzerland shot up the league table from 20th in 1995 as a whole to fifth in the first half of 1996, with 10 deals worth £4.7bn. By number of transactions, it was top for public company bids, advising on nine. BZW was another riser, up from 17th to sixth.

Bids and deals among the utilities continued to be one of the main sources of income, but the Granada takeover of Forte and the Rentokil battle for BET were among the other takeovers that helped the fees bonanza. As a result of advising on these two takeovers, Lazards topped the list with £7.25bn.

Among private deals, Lazards advised Liverpool Victoria on the acquisition of Frizzell Group and Firstbus on its purchase of several bus companies.

SBC Warburg rose from third to second place with £6.8bn of deals, including 43 in which it acted for the Government on the sale of British Rail assets.

Advertiser	Public deals No.	Public deals Value £m	Private deals No.	Private deals Value £m	Combined total Value £m
1 Lazards Brothers (2*)	4	5,967	15	1,281	7,248
2 SBC Warburg (3)	5	4,725	55	2,093	6,818
3 Goldman Sachs (5)	7	4,127	12	1,240	5,367
4 Morgan Stanley (4)	2	4,105	4	812	4,917
5 BBS (20)	9	4,876	1	41	4,917
6 BZW (17)	3	3,890	4	777	4,667
7 NM Rothschild (5)	6	4,373	5	289	4,662
8 Merrill Lynch (1)	4	4,150	2	138	4,288
9 Hambros Bank (16)	5	1,889	13	2,115	4,004
10 Schroders (7)	4	3,502	7	567	4,069
11 Baring Brothers (1)	3	2,385	10	821	3,206
12 Deutsche Morgan Grenfell (3)	4	741	15	2,232	2,973
13 J.P. Morgan (15)	1	1,487	5	371	1,858
14 Goldman Sachs (10)	1	1,261	14	345	1,606
15 HSBC Samuel Montagu (5)	5	1,251	56	1,482	1,504
16 Ernst & Young (19)	1	1,251	54	1,222	1,355
17 Coopers & Lybrand (5)	1	1,251	40	1,218	1,209
18 Pricewaterhouse (1)	1	227	5	335	1,033
19 Robert Fleming (11)	1	227	5	335	1,033
20 Deloitte & Touche (1)	1	227	5	335	1,033

*1995 full year rankings
This table is based on the first half public and private transactions in the UK private transactions completed between 21 December and 21 June 1996.
Source: *Acquisitions Monthly*

Market abuse targeted by Large

PETER RODGERS
Business Editor

Sir Andrew Large, chairman of the Securities and Investments Board, yesterday called for a change in the law to make it easier to bring civil proceedings against market manipulators and to publish the names of people banned from the City.

Speaking at a London conference a fortnight after the Sumitomo affair revealed massive and long-standing manipulation of the copper market, Sir Andrew said the financial services legislation was drafted more for investor protection than supervision of the markets.

The regulators had limited scope to act against market abuse on their own and their power to investigate suspected

firms was extremely limited, he said.

Unlike the US Securities and Exchange Commission, SIB's powers were limited to supervising exchanges rather than the broader issue of controlling market manipulation.

The UK system concentrated on enforcing good conduct on businesses authorised to work in financial services. But market manipulation and insider dealing frequently took place among people who were not running authorised businesses.

Sir Andrew said there was a credibility problem with criminal prosecutions for offences such as market manipulation and insider trading, because of the height of the hurdles that had to be mounted to succeed in court.

He added: "Abuse by the unregulated often seeks to exploit the benefits of regulated markets and yet undermines investor confidence in them. There are lessons we can learn from those countries which have chosen to adopt non-criminal remedies as part of their overall approach to dealing with cases of market abuse."

Sir Andrew said he did not want to criminalise market abuse and there would always be cases that merited prosecution. "But I do think that we should consider seriously the possibility of introducing civil powers, whether administratively or through the courts."

This would allow regulators to deal with cases that did not merit criminal prosecution. They could levy fines, order profits to

be given back and make restitution to victims, whether or not the perpetrators were authorised investment businesses.

Sir Andrew also said the investor protection system needed to be improved. There were 20 different recognised bodies, which made the system difficult to understand, and some "strange anomalies" such as the ability of firms to choose their own regulator.

Sir Andrew also found it strange that the law limited SIB's scope for publicising the names of people banned from operating in the City.

He also wanted changes in the legal framework under which some of SIB's investigative powers could only be used if one of the other regulatory bodies asked it to intervene.

Andersen's political double-act

CITY DIARY

JOHN WILLCOCK

Andersen Consulting is fielding two candidates in the next general election who, if successful, will face each other on opposite sides of the House.

Patricia Hewitt and Mary Macleod have been selected as prospective candidates by the Labour Party and Conservative Party respectively.

This might have embarrassed some employers, but not Andersen Consulting's UK managing partner James Hall: "Although they have different political views, they share with all of us at Andersen Consulting a real commitment to the future of Britain," he says diplomatically.

Ms Hewitt made her name as general secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties, a post she held for 10 years. This week she was selected to stand for Leicester West, already a Labour seat.

Ms Macleod, on the other hand, will have to overturn Liberal Democrat Charles Kennedy's 6,000 majority in Ross, Skye & Inverness.

"There's all to play for," says Ms Macleod, who went to school in the constituency.

So do the two candidates swap debating points over the



Agreeing to differ: Patricia Hewitt (left) and Mary Macleod

photocopier at work? Ms Macleod says: "I don't actually bump into her. The first time I met her was for the photo this week."

The latest joke doing the rounds in Moscow: "There is

no truth in the rumours that Yeltsin is ill. He has had several meetings with Brezhnev in the past week."

A sticky moment at Sainsbury's AGM. A shareholder gets up and asks why no directors were nominated in the latest Queen's Honours list.

After all, he says, you have Sir Alistair Grant at Safeways and Sir Ian MacLaurin at Tesco - why no knights on the Sainsbury team?

The chairman, plain Mr David Sainsbury, rises to reply: "There are already two former chairmen of Sainsbury in the House of Lords, and a third might look ostentatious. But I'm trying hard, and I'll report

back at future meetings."

Perhaps it was Mr Sainsbury's bankrolling of the SDP in the 1980s which keeps him a commoner.

You've had inflatable Sumo wrestlers. Now prepare for Human Skittles. American Airlines is holding its annual event at the Broadgate Centre in the City, and this year 48 City teams will battle it out dressed up in giant polystyrene skittles. While victims pose as skittles, the other team swings a giant ball at them.

British Airways, whose plan to team up with American Airlines is being hotly debated, is also involved.

Virgin's Richard Branson has not been invited to field a team, however. An American spokesman explains: "They're not based in the City."

How will the great publicist hit back, I wonder? Human clay pigeon shooting, perhaps?

Talking of Mr Branson, the Virgin boss has just awarded air stewardess "wings" to Lisa Leeson, wife of Nick, the Barings trader now doing time in Singapore. Mrs Leeson, 27, joined Virgin in the normal way and completed a six-month training course.

The job guarantees her cheap flights to visit her husband at the notorious Changi prison, where he is serving a six-and-a-half-year sentence.

Nick Leeson is allowed two 20-minute visits each month, but his wife could not afford the £600 return air fares from her job as a waitress in a Maidstone tearoom.

World Class

Today, on the occasion of the 1996 London Business School Summer Congregation, we acknowledge and congratulate the following degree students in completing the Full-time MBA Programme at London Business School. They come from 41 countries and will be working with the world's top employers. We wish them all the best.

Don Addington	Aidan Douglas	Michael Lennox	Yoshikatsu Shinozawa
Anthony Albuquerque	Charles Drake	Yaron Levi	Pierre Siret
Ser Keng Ang	Luiz Dutra Villa-Lobos	Louise Marchant	Peter Smedley
David Arnott	Mark Dwell	Christopher Marquardt	Adam Smith
David Aron	James Erb	Cosme Martinez	Paul Smith
Manuel Asali	Barbara Ex	Marc Mathenz	Magali Spinther
Geoffrey Baird	James Farah	Marcelyn McGinn	Jessica Spurgeon
Catherine Baran	Diane Flynn	Jeremy Meeson	Guilherme Studart
Dainis Barups	Thomas Frey	Justin Mencher	Mark Sumich
Ricardo Bauernschmitt	Robert Frost	Andre Millodot	Augusto Syjuco
Julian Beck	Thomas Fuerr	Nick Moreno	Indira Thambiah
Mikael Bernson	Caren Gabouchian	Daniel Mueller	Chen-Fang Tong
Stephan Bey	Melissa Gallo	Michael Narrey	Wen Yu Tseng
Margaida Bicho	Annette Gardner	Rodolfo Navarrete	Daniel Turner
Paul Brennan	Antonia Girardet	Yoshihiko Ochiai	Marten Van Pelt
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Richard Bydwell	Genevieve Heng	Giuseppe Panizzardi	Konstantin Von Unger
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Foris Christodoulou	Hyungkwon Jung	Paul Reynolds	Andrew Wiseman
Wayne Clark	Warren Justice	Hanno Ronte	Pamela Woolley
Laurence Cooke	Rajesh Kaji	Sumir Sabni	Tomoaki Yamagai
Derrick D'Souza	Sari Kangas-Ikkala	Alessandro Saroli	Walid Yazbeck
Mariano Dall'Orso	Mahmut Kaya	Michalis Savvides	Hirohiko Yoshimura
Gregg Daniel	Sachiko Kosumi	Marco Schwarzenberg	Sachiko Yoshioka
Alistair Danks	Norman Kurtis	Rachelle Schwarzmann	
Alexander Davidson	Jennifer Kwok	Sunir Sharma	
Giuseppe Di Vincenzo	Patricia Leckman	Junfeng Shi	

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Black breaks the British record

Athletics
MIKE ROWBOTTOM
reports from Lausanne

Michael Johnson duly won the 400 metres here last night in a time of 43.66 seconds. It was 0.37sec off the world record, but dragged Roger Black, in second place, through to a British record of 44.37sec. That was 0.02 faster than Black's winning time at the Olympic trials.

But for the celebratory raising of his arms, Frankie Fredericks might have earned himself the 100m world record. The Namibian, who had already run 9.87sec going into a race that was – at least in terms of dramatic personae – an effective rehearsal for the Olympic final, finished in 9.86, just 0.01sec off the record Leroy Burrell set on the same track two years ago.

In his wake, Fredericks left a field which included the world champion, Donovan Bailey, and his sometime training partner Linford Christie, who was fifth in 10.04sec. Having finally decided to defend his Olympic 100m title, Christie will be in no doubt now about the magnitude of that task.

His immediate reaction last night was to smile ruefully and offer applause to his friend, who was already cavorting towards the crowd firing imaginary pistols in the jubilant style of well, Christie.

"These are the best people I have raced against in all my life, and to beat them was fantastic," Fredericks said.

In training, Christie has always been told by his coach, Ron Roddick, to run through the line rather than to it. Perhaps the message had not got through to Fredericks, who is

still undecided whether to double up at 100 and 200 in Atlanta. It was a hugely impressive performance, nevertheless. Fredericks, a fluent technician at the worst of times, got off to a superb start, where he headed Bailey and the Trinidadian, Ato Boldon, to his left.

Bailey eventually finished second in 9.93sec, with Boldon fourth in 9.94 and Jon Drummond, who may have been slightly hampered by being credited with a false start, fourth in 10.00.

But the event is still in a very fluid state at the moment. Christie beat Bruny Surin of Canada, who had won in Paris the previous Friday, and the US trial winner, Dennis Mitchell, garbed in his habitual dayglo green.

Meanwhile, the world record holder, running in lane one, could only manage seventh place in 10.05sec. He is not going to the Olympics either. Indeed, the result appeared to confirm the decline of the traditional US domination at this distance. A Namibian first, a Canadian second, a Trinidadian third, and only one US runner in the top six. You would have believed such a state of affairs would exist after Burrell had trimmed his team-mate Lewis's record here two years ago.

While Fredericks was ebullient, Bailey, who was conspicuously relaxed travelling to the stadium on the athletes' bus, was also in a celebratory mood, joining the Namibian and putting his arm round his shoulders as he greeted the crowd. He clearly seems to be enjoying his running – not an easy thing to do with the Olympics just over two weeks away.

The strength of last night's

sprinting was pointed up early on in the 400 metres B race, where Mark Richardson and Jamie Baulch, neither of whom have earned an individual place for the Olympics, moved to fourth and fifth respectively on the British all-time list.

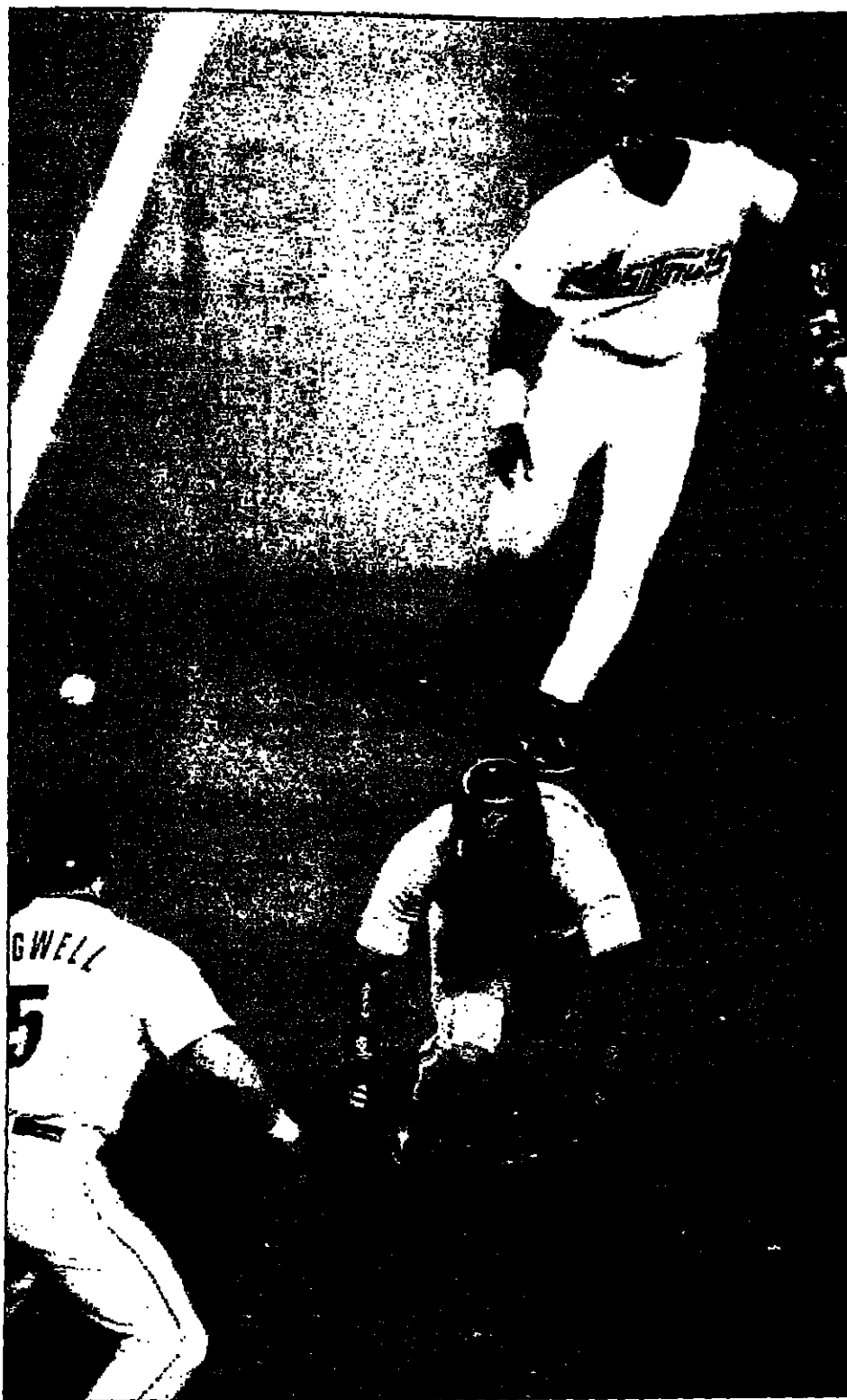
Behind the American winner, Anthony Maybank, who did 44.15, Richardson ran 44.52sec, and Baulch took third place in 44.57.

Despite the fact that both of the 25-year-olds had set personal bests, neither was exactly jubilant afterwards. "It's too late, and that's the point," said Richardson with a rueful grin. "I said I needed two more races after food poisoning mucked me up for the trials, and I was right."

Baulch, too, admitted that the times were something of a mixed experience. "It is a bit disappointing when you know you are just going to run in the relay at the Olympics," he said. "But it is all to the good for British 400 metres running. It is going from strength to strength."

Richardson said he had thought about finishing his season after the trials, but had decided to carry on as a matter of personal pride. "I didn't want to go back into winter training thinking I was a 45.5 runner," he said. As for the relay, he added: "We'll give the Americans a run for their money."

Jacqui Ageypong, named as a late addition to the British Olympic team on Monday after recovering from a hamstring injury, confirmed the selectors' faith with second place in an international 100m hurdles event in 13.18sec. Ageypong was given a place on the basis of her competitive record and an Olympic qualifying time last season.



The fast throw: Orlando Miller (top) of Houston throws out Gary Sheffield, of the Florida Marlins, in the Astros' 4-3 Major League victory. Photograph: AP

Boro offer Ajax £6m for Kluivert

Football
NICK DUXBURY

Patrick Kluivert, the outstanding Ajax striker, could be on his way to Middlesbrough for £6m. Bryan Robson, the Boro manager, has made an official approach for the 20-year-old Dutch international and is prepared to break his club's transfer record, backed by chairman Steve Gibson's money and robust season-ticket sales.

Middlesbrough are confident they can pull off the audacious signing and have put together a wage package worth around £1.5m a year for the powerful striker who gave glimpses of his ability in Euro 96.

Kluivert has long been expected to join Milan for the 1997/98 season, but Robson has boldly tried to bring him to England. Boro also consider Kluivert is value for money in a British transfer market that values Alan Shearer at a minimum of £12.5m.

Manchester United kept the pot – and Blackburn Rovers' blood – boiling regarding Shearer with Alex Ferguson again saying (in Malta, of all places) that United were still interested. Rovers responded with yet another "no way" rebuttal.

The takeover money now available for players at Leeds United has been put to immediate use with the £2.6m signing of the Charlton Athletic midfielder Lee Bowyer, a British record for a teenager. The new cash is also financing a £2.2m bid for Nigel Martyn, the Crystal Palace goalkeeper

who is wanted just as much by Everton.

Wimbledon spent nearly £2m on Milwall's "uncut diamond" Ben Thatcher yesterday, but were prevented from shelling out a further £1.5m for Manchester City's Steve Lomas when the midfielder turned down the Don's wage offer.

The fee for Thatcher, the England Under-21 defender, more than doubled Wimbledon's previous transfer record of £920,000 paid to Norwich for Ekan Ekoku in October 1994. "He's an uncut diamond, but we'll turn him into a polished gem," Sam Hammam, the Wimbledon owner, said. "He'll play for the full England team – or I'll eat my hat."

The Derby County chequebook was also flapping open with £1.2m being lavished on Danny Griffin, the 18-year-old St Johnstone defender/midfielder, who won his first cap for Northern Ireland against Germany at the end of last season.

Chelsea paraded their £2.5m French defender Franck Leboeuf yesterday and then confirmed they are on target to buy the Italian midfielder Roberto Di Matteo from Lazio, but not for the £6m which has been reported.

Manchester City are to offer Keith Currie a cut-price £650,000 in return for a quick sale of their former captain who cost £2.5m from Wimbledon five years ago. Sunderland and Leeds are believed to be interested.

Roy McFarland, dismissed by Bolton Wanderers in January, is in line for a return to management with Blackpool.

Jones is target for Bristol

Rugby Union
DAVID LLEWELLYN

Bristol are poised to sign Wales' most capped scrum-half, Robert Jones, on a two-year contract, with an option of a further two years.

The former British Lion Jones, 30, who plays for Swansea, was at the Memorial Ground yesterday for talks. The club spokesman, Dave Tyler, said he did not expect anything to be signed until Jones had slept on the offer.

The deal must be a substantial one – "It's the one we have offered all our international players," Tyler said – since Jones rejected a financial package with Harlequins in February after Swansea promised him a benefit next season. Jones had also been linked with Newcastle and South Africa's Western Province, who had offered him a reputed £180,000 for a full-time, two-year contract.

Bristol's director of coaching, Alan Davies, had picked out Jones as the ideal replacement for the England scrum-half, Kyran Bracken, who left Bristol for Saracens last month.

There is a certain irony in that, since it was Davies who rudely interrupted Jones's international career when he dropped the player to the bench in 1993.

The Lions scrum-half did win a further six caps under Davies, however, before taking over from Gareth Edwards as most-capped Wales No 9.

Waspas have lost out to their London neighbours Harlequins over the signing of lock Glyn Llewellyn, who has rejected a move to Sudbury for a more rewarding deal at The Stoop. Quins apparently offered a third more than Wasps.

Llewellyn will team up with brother Gareth to form an all Wales international second row. Harlequins have also confirmed the signing of the France flanker Laurent Cabannes on a two-year contract.

TODAY'S NUMBER
2,584,000

The difference between the career earnings of Tim Henman and Todd Martin. Henman, who is four years younger than the 25-year-old Martin, has won £216,000, as a tennis player, while Martin has amassed £2.8m.

Heulot enjoys a champagne holiday

ROBIN NICHOLL
with the Tour de France

There was little time for sampling as the Tour de France left the rolling lands of the Champagne region under its wheels, but Chris Boardman's GAN team-mates had good reasons to call for a jacobean later in their Metz hotel.

Riders of their calibre, however, have to enjoy the headlines of the big occasion without resorting to the bubbly. Frederic Moncassin, with a stage win at Den Bosch to his credit, accepted more back-slapping and hand-shaking yesterday despite losing the Tour leader's yellow jersey.

He was untroubled as the colours had only crossed the hotel corridor to his team-mate Stephane Heulot, and Moncassin had something else to celebrate, even if he found himself 3min 45sec off the pace. He was announced yesterday as one of five riders to represent France in the Olympic road events, and his team-mate Didier Rous was also named for Atlanta.

Out on the road, Heulot and

four others launched an unexpectedly successful escape after 35km of the 232km (145 miles) from Besancon to Lac de Madine. Heulot, 35, was accompanied by Cyril Sanguin, the Luxembourgian, Danny Nelissen, Rolf Inchausti of Switzerland, and Italy's Mariano Piccoli arrived at the lake-side with a lead of 4min 33sec on the overnight leader, Moncassin, and contenders-in-waiting, such as Miguel Indurain.

Ambition was still hot when the main field and riders began sprinting for sixth place, and the spare points left for high finishing, but Ian Stovarda's defence of his green points jersey came to grief. He touched wheels and was flung in front of the Frenchman Laurent Brochard, who went head first over the fallen Czech. Bjorne Riis, Denmark's main contender, and Italy's Mauro Bettin also fell in a tangle of men and machines. None was badly hurt.

Heulot was then safe on the podium with an overall lead of 22sec over Italy's Mariano Piccoli. This was further reward for his team manager, Roger Legeay, who ended Heulot's months of

waiting for an offer after leaving the Danisco team of Miguel Indurain because he wanted to race for a French team. Heulot's first repayment was victory in the French road race title at Caen, nearly two weeks ago.

Yesterday he was looking for points towards the red polka dot jersey of No 1 mountain racer, and found himself instructed instead to race for the yellow one.

Yesterday: Stage 4
Soissons to Lac de Madine
Wednesday 3 July, 144 miles

Today: Stage 5
Lac de Madine to Besancon
Thursday 4 July, 150 miles

company broke to build a lead of 17 minutes in 75 kilometres, but Heulot was not allowed to share in the pace-setting until Legeay had studied the options.

At the finish the smart money was on Nelissen, the last amateur world champion before the sport went open. Saugrain, however, was out to make his first Tour memorable, and he caught the Dutchman off-guard with his sprint.

TOUR DE FRANCE, Fourth stage (232km, Soissons to Lac de Madine) 3 C Sanguin (F), 4th Indurain (E), 5th Sanguin (L), 6th Moncassin (F), 7th Sanguin (L), 8th Sanguin (L), 9th Sanguin (L), 10th Sanguin (L), 11th Sanguin (L), 12th Sanguin (L), 13th Sanguin (L), 14th Sanguin (L), 15th Sanguin (L), 16th Sanguin (L), 17th Sanguin (L), 18th Sanguin (L), 19th Sanguin (L), 20th Sanguin (L), 21st Sanguin (L), 22nd Sanguin (L), 23rd Sanguin (L), 24th Sanguin (L), 25th Sanguin (L), 26th Sanguin (L), 27th Sanguin (L), 28th Sanguin (L), 29th Sanguin (L), 30th Sanguin (L), 31st Sanguin (L), 32nd Sanguin (L), 33rd Sanguin (L), 34th Sanguin (L), 35th Sanguin (L), 36th Sanguin (L), 37th Sanguin (L), 38th Sanguin (L), 39th Sanguin (L), 40th Sanguin (L), 41st Sanguin (L), 42nd Sanguin (L), 43rd Sanguin (L), 44th Sanguin (L), 45th Sanguin (L), 46th Sanguin (L), 47th Sanguin (L), 48th Sanguin (L), 49th Sanguin (L), 50th Sanguin (L), 51st Sanguin (L), 52nd Sanguin (L), 53rd Sanguin (L), 54th Sanguin (L), 55th 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SPORT

THIRD TEST: England opt for a policy of attack

TOUR DE FRANCE: Underdogs enjoy a champagne day

Rain clouds quarter-finals day



Pete Sampras (left) battles the power of Richard Krajicek (above) in their quarter-final at Wimbledon yesterday

Photographs: David Ashdown

JOHN ROBERTS
Tennis Correspondent

All the half-forgotten sights have become familiar again, such as dismantling the net posts and running the tarpaulin.

For the first time for four years, the All England Club's ground staff has been in action more often than the players – one poor chap was trapped under the covers and had to be taken off on a stretcher – and the weather outlook is not promising.

There is so little scope for manoeuvre when rain disrupts the championships at this stage that the organisers may have to consider the implications of finishing the tournament next week.

Yesterday, when the crowds gathered to see Tim Henman become the first Briton to play in the quarter-final of the men's

singles for 23 years, there were long, frustrating rain delays.

The opening men's quarter-finals, featuring Pete Sampras and Richard Krajicek on the Centre Court and Goran Ivanisevic and Jason Stoltenberg on Court No 1, started at 12.35pm, only half an hour late. But the players were back in the locker rooms after 20 minutes. At this stage, Sampras and Krajicek were level at 2-2 in the opening set, and Stoltenberg led Ivanisevic 5-3 and was about to serve for the first set.

During the three and a half hours delay, Wimbledon experienced another first. Sir Cliff Richard was on song at the back of the Royal Box with medley of the numbers he recorded long before Yorkshire's Roger Taylor played in the quarter-finals in 1973.

When play resumed, at 4.36pm, Krajicek gained the initiative against Sampras.

breaking the three-times champion to 7-5 to take the opening set and forcing the American to save two break points in the second game of the second set. Ivanisevic, having lost the opening set, 6-3, led 6-5 on serve in the second set when rain interrupted the proceedings for a second time, after 32 minutes.

Stoltenberg was only one game from the semi-finals after play resumed again, after an hour and 40 minutes. He led the fourth-seeded Ivanisevic, 6-3, 7-6, and 6-5 with the Croat about to serve when rain intervened again. Sampras was two sets down, 5-7, 6-7, and level at 1-1 in the third.

The voice of Chris Goringe, the Club's chief executive, has become a familiar sound again, advising spectators of the latest news from the London Weather Centre. Alan Mills, the referee, was busy pondering the scheduling and wondering how

many matches could be squeezed in today along with the women's semi-finals between Steffi Graf and Kimiko Date and Arantxa Sanchez Vicario, due to be played on Centre Court.

The last year that Wimbledon became a mecca for umbrellas was 1992, when the tournament was extended to the third Monday. That was when 7,798 spectators were admitted free to watch the mixed doubles final and the conclusion of the men's doubles – John McEnroe and Michael Stich defeating Jim Grabb and Richey Reneberg, 19-17 in the third set, on Court No 1 – and the junior doubles events.

On that occasion there had been a good deal of rain following a week of fine weather. Play was washed out on the second Friday, and the men's semi-finals were divided between the Centre Court and Court No 1 on the following day.

Steffi Graf defeated Monica

Seles between rain delays on the Saturday, and Andre Agassi won the men's title on the Sunday in five sets against Ivanisevic.

In 1991, there was play on the middle Sunday for the first time ever following the wettest first week on record. The opening Monday was rained off and only 52 out of 240 scheduled matches were completed in the nine hours and 15 minutes play available by Thursday evening.

The tournament was completed on schedule, Graf defeating Gabriela Sabatini for the women's title and Michael Stich beating Boris Becker in the all-German men's final.

Greg Rusedski has withdrawn from Britain's Davis Cup match in Ghana, which starts a week tomorrow, because of a back injury. His place in the team will be taken by Luke Milligan, the 19-year-old from Middlesex who reached the third round at Wimbledon.

More reports, page 30

THE INDEPENDENT CROSSWORD

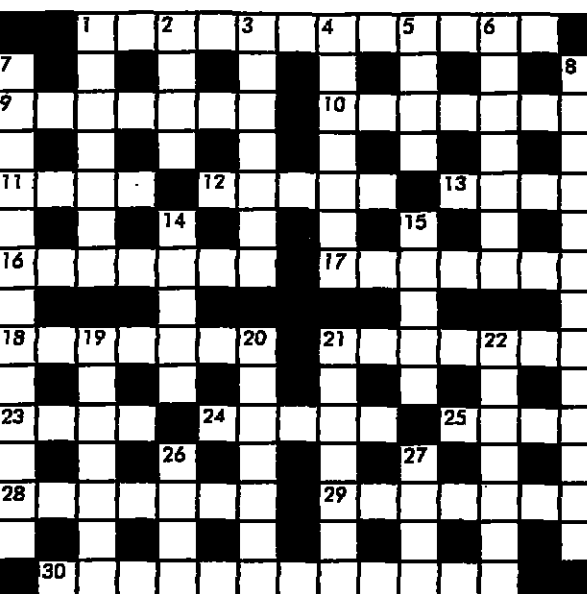
Meaning what?

Look it up in the Franklin Language Master.

No. 3030, Thursday 4 July

By Sparus

Wednesday's Solution



TRANSPORTCARE
CITIOARRAG
NEBORNBERGE
EDSILEWEE
AGRECEPVEDRA
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ISILEHORSEPLAY
NIVASTIA
GLODEPISHMYER
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OROGRAPHYSEITO
UETIACTV
SHINDHARDSE
EVHCODEAM
CENTREFORWARD

- 2 Representation on screen, antique or modern (4)
- 3 Studio with a phone – that's right (7)
- 4 Cold jar used by Romans mostly for aromatic substance (7)
- 5 Club account entrusted to yours truly (4)
- 6 Latin book a pupil's given free (7)
- 7 Features of police interview procedures, measures judge introduced (4-9)
- 8 What seems to be the attribution rate, according to navigator's calculation? (4, 9)
- 14 Bore from Southern Germany entertaining excessively (5)
- 15 Manage to turn up before husband for date? (5)
- 19 Mount with fiery temperament (7)
- 20 'Till, thin Deputy Lieutenant with prickly exterior? (7)
- 21 Honolulu air agency? (7)
- 22 All but loveless? Perhaps, with qualifications (1-6)
- 26 It's instrumental in helping players to find pitch (4)
- 27 Potentate's salt spiked with sulphur (4)

- 1 Something done by the Parisians? (4, 8)
- 9 Like 'American Pie', with cool accompaniment? (7)
- 10 Black horse outside advice centre (7)
- 11 Range not right for everyone (4)
- 12 One German's about to pop inside church alcove (5)
- 13 Frame for front of garage delivered (4)
- 16 Choose gold, as foreign Prince, perhaps? (7)
- 17 Refusal to have posh London school beside theatre (7)
- 18 Old boy you encountered in France cherishes independence, it's plain (7)
- 21 Pawnee ultimately obscured by tree is to get kit off (7)
- 23 Youth returning to English valley (4)
- 24 Neckwear at Oxford enables one to make connection (3-2)
- 25 New Age element (4)
- 28 Boarded out by transport foundation? (4-3)
- 29 Tree's a variety not originally native to Japan, for instance (7)
- 30 Singletons in major suit often featured in columns? (6, 6)

DOWN

1 Intended to produce shame, penning article on church (7)

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Souness takes on Saints challenge

Football
DERRICK WHYTE

Graeme Souness, on his return to English football two years after his controversial departure from Anfield, has one immediate target to push Matthew Le Tissier back into the England set-up.

Souness, formerly in charge of Rangers, Liverpool and Galatasaray, was yesterday named as Southampton's new manager on a three-year contract. "Le Tissier is the most talented footballer in Britain, and if he is honest with himself he knows he could do more than he did last season," Souness said.

"I want to get more out of him and I want to get him back where he belongs – that's back in the England side," Souness added. "With someone of Matthew's ability in your side, you've always got a chance of winning any match. He is a very special talent and he must be treated in a special way. I think that everyone at the club appreciates that, even the other players."

The former Scottish international, sacked by the Turkish club, Galatasaray, at the end of last season, takes over from Dave Merrington, who was dismissed by the Saints last month. Souness will be in charge of team matters at The Dell, with Lawrie McMenemy continuing as director of football, and the new manager said: "As anyone who knows me will tell you, I love a challenge – but we have to be realistic."

"I know that it will be difficult, but I believe that Southampton are a better team than last season's position indicates. The season before they came 10th with more or less the same set of players – and that's what we've got to aim for," Souness added.

"I think I have mellowed a lot. Maybe I am prepared to listen to other people more than I have ever done."

"Don't forget, I was very young when I first became a manager with Rangers. I think I am a better manager now but, of course, only time will tell. I want to make Southampton a place to be feared, a place

report back on Monday, so the timing is right."

The Saints' chairman, Guy Ashkan, added: "We hope this appointment proves to the fans that Southampton are very keen to have a future in the Premiership and win things."

The first target for Souness in the transfer market is the defender David Holdsworth, who is moving from Watford for £500,000. The Saints' new manager wasted no time moving for Holdsworth to replace another central defender, Richard Hall, who is joining West Ham.

Holdsworth, whose twin brother, Dean, plays for Wimbledon, was out of contract at Watford after turning down a new deal recently. The 27-year-old will travel to The Dell to complete the move today.

This job is a new beginning for Souness, who left Liverpool in 1994 with the club reduced to mid-table mediocrity. There was dismay at his £20m worth of wheeler-dealing in the transfer market, and disapproval of many of his signings.

Rule by fear rather than consensus seemed to be the order of play, according to regular Anfield observers – yet the fans had felt optimistic when he returned in 1991 as the successor to Kenny Dalglish, following his fine five-year track record at Rangers.

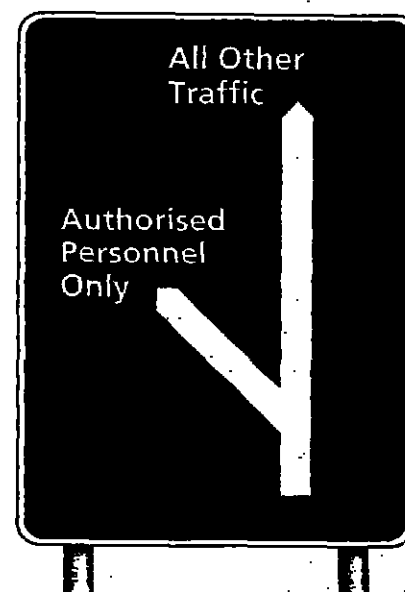
However, Souness fell out of favour when a picture of him recuperating from heart surgery appeared in the *Sun* on the third anniversary of the Hillsborough tragedy. The tabloid newspaper was reviled by the fans for its coverage of the disaster, and Merseyside was outraged by Souness' insensitivity.

Now, he has a chance to re-establish himself in the top flight, albeit with a club with arguably lower ambitions than his previous ports of call in Glasgow and Liverpool.

More football, page 31

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